

THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF  
His SaCRed Majesty  
CHARLES the I I.  
K I N G of

England, Scotland, France, & Ireland,  
Defender of the Faith, &c.

Begun from the Murder of his Royall  
Father of Happy Memory, & con-  
tinued to this present year, 1660.

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*By a Person of Quality.*

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*Bona agere & mala pati Regium est.*

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C O R K ,  
Reprinted by William Smith,  
Anno Dom: 1660.

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• Br 1815.199.2 \*

John Laurer





To the Right Honourable

**H E N R Y**

Lord Marquess of

**D O R C H E S T E R,**

Earl of *Kingston*, Viscount *Newark*, Lord  
*Pierrepoint* and *Manvers*, &c.

*Right Honourable,*

I was not upon long Considerations, but easie resolutions, that I pitched upon your Lordship, & determined to presume upon your patronage of this small review of the actions of his **S A C R E D M J E S T Y,** whose hard fortunes may now demand Subjects protection since I could no where else find a person who bears so great a name of true Honour and Generosity, nor one whose assured loyalty will make him lesse ashamed or afraid to owne his Prince.

And indeed (*my Lord*) when I looked  
upon

*The Epistle.*

upon these Nations, once I may say almost peopled with Nobles, and now in a great measure deprived both of her Nobility and Gentry, 'twas easie for me to find out the Prime of those remaining, which a small search told me was your Lordship; who, though you have been no whit behind the foremost in Loyalty, yet God hath been pleased to make others drinke deeper in the Cup of affliction then your selfe.

But all those miseries which either your Lordship or other loyal persons have suffered, cannot come in competition with those undergon by his SACRED MAJESTY, who hath drunk up the very dregs of the Cup, and suffered more then can be well spoken; yet all with so incomparable a patience as worthily deserves our wonder.

My Lord, you are amongst the Prime of the Nobility, which God hath yet been pleased to spare this miserable Nation; & as you are so, I could not think any person fitter for the patronage of this small piece; since both your loyalty may make you willing,

*Dedictory.*

ling, and your power able to protect it.

If I have soar'd too high either in the subject or dedication, I shall humbly crave your Lordships pardon, and answer to the first? That I was willing to vindicate my Sovereign (as far as in me lay) from those many reproaches and calumnies cast upon him by his back-biting enemies by giving the best account (that either my own knowledge or the surest intelligence I could get might enable, me to) of all his actions that he might appear the contrary of what he is represented, & dirt be cast in the faces of his Accusers. To the second, I wholly cast my selfe on your Lordship, either to pardon or condemn.

But if my Love to his Majestie may in the judgements of some have strained my pen too much in his favour, I desire it may be imputed not to my intent, but passion; for the unworthy sufferings of so worthy a Prince would irritate any loyall Subject.

My Lord, whilst your Lordship shall be graciously pleased to patronize this small worke, that GOD would be pleased

*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

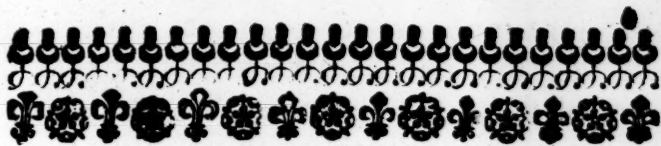
sed to restore his Majesty to be Patron of  
his Kingdoms and people, and blesse your  
Lordship with all imaginary blessings;  
shall be the daily prayers of,

*Your Lordships most humble  
Servant,*

I. D.

*James Habico*

**TO**



To the Right Honourable,

Major General *Richard Brown*, Colonel of  
the Regiment of horse of the City of  
*London*: Alderman *John Robinson*, Colonel  
of the *Green* Regiment of the Cities  
Trained Bands: Ald. *Anthony Bateman*  
Col. of the *Red*. Ald. *Will. Wale* Col.  
of the *White*: *William Vincent* Col. of the  
*Blew*: *Thomas Bludworth* Col. of the *O-*  
*range*, and *Lawrance Bromfield* Col. of  
the *Yellow*.

*Right Honourable,*

\*\*\*\*\* Alice and error are the Epide-  
\* M \* mical diseases of our time and  
\* \* \* land: so that whoever as a friend  
\*\*\*\*\* to his Country, shall presume  
to discover any thing of a spirit of Love or  
truth, is likely to exasperate not a few.  
That, I trust, both the Author and my selfe  
the Stationer, have endeavoured to do, and  
therefore

therefore must expect to meet with the hard censures and Calumnies of many, yea even of such, of whom we have no worse thoughts, then that they suffer themselves to be abused with popular mistakes, and unnecessary jealousies concerning that most Christian and Illustrious, (though now clouded) Prince, the subject of the following Book. Whose eares according to the *Ephesians* Hieroglyphick of Calumny) have been opened too wide to the malevolent aspersions of ignorant and illinterested persons, and are therefore prejudiced against every relation that may represent him to the World as lovely and desirable. We know *Themistocles* had the unhappy fate to be rendred odious to the people by *Aristides*, gallant persons both, but the latter under a mistake. These we pity rather then be angry at them, and desire to cure them of their beloved distemper by presenting them with this succinct & faithfull History. But yet that I may not be altogether unprovided of a shelter, if the storm of their zealous frenzie should chance to fall upon

upon me (besides a recourse to my own integrity, which *Ianus*-like will make me *Tanto frontosior, quanto innocentior*) I humbly crave a room under the shadow of your wings, where I question not but to lye safe. Your honours have taken a charge upon you, which obliges you to maintain the publick and common good interest of this Land and City, where

—— *Res est publica Caesar,*

*Et de communi pars quoque nostra bono est.*

Therefore to patronize the recommendation of his virtues for imitation, and of his sufferings for commiseration, cannot be unworthy your honours, which is the humble desire of,

*Your Humble and  
Obedient Servant*

JAMES DAVIES,

B

To



# To all loyal Englishmen.

Gentlemen and fellow-Subjects.

Here present you an History which  
**I** though now you may, confident I am  
you very lately could not in reason  
expect; such was the perversnesse  
and crookedness of these times, that no loyal sub-  
ject might without danger attempt to write, nay  
hardly to speak the truth of his Sovereign: for  
a sort of men there were, who having by vio-  
lence usurped his Dominions, though that they  
had no surer ground to maintain their unjust  
possession, then by scandalizing his most S A-  
CRED MAIESTY and deceiving of  
his Subjects, many of whom had not but by such  
deceits converted their loyalty into Treason.

Yet GOD I hope will now be pleased to re-  
turn them to their Allegiance, and give encour-  
agement to those who have constantly continued  
loyal, that they may at length once more enjoy  
happinesse, and every man sit under his own Vine  
and under his own fig-tree; which, the GOD of  
HEAVEN be praised, we have now greater  
hopes of then ever.



If I have in this History offended any loyal person, I am hartily grieved, I have impartially endeavoured the truth, and if I be found in the contrary, reason will easily convince me; and I shall be sory that neither my knowledge or intelligence extended to a more narrow search.

I think I have represented his Majesty no otherwise then any loyal person (for this age requires that distinction) that hath either heard of or know him will confesse him to be; but if they will not, let them be convinced by that saying of a worthy Gentleman long time an attendant upon his Majesty, who having given me a large account of his virtues, at length concluded, That Tully himselfe (if now alive) could not sufficiently expresse his praise.

Gentlemen, it is to you in Generall that I present this History, that you may see, and be sensible, to whom you have been loyal, and then I believe that you will judge that your loyalty hath found it's just reward in being loyal to so just a Prince: and if any of you have suffered for him, read but his sufferings, and you cannot value your own. Yet I intend not this at all to his pretended Tavern friends; which I believe (whilst they

they are so) are so onely there, and indeed I cannot looke upon these as faithful Subjects; for how can that man be loyal to his Prince, who hath not the power to be true unto himselfe. Drunken Subjects, though never so loyal, will prove the ruine both of themselves and their SOVERAIGN.

Gentlemen, let those that are truly loyal joyn their Prayers with mine for the happines of his most SACRED MAJESTY, since in his we must necessarily conclud our own, and more then ours, our COUNTRIES.

TO

To the Readers in general.

Courteous Readers

¶ F in this History I have displeased  
I any person; they cannot be so much  
displeased as I am sorry; I have en-  
deavoured to please all, nor have I  
more then Justice enforced me to, favoured  
any; I have laboured (as I professed) to write  
impartially, where I have not done so, I am  
confident there will not want Carpers.

If in some particulars affection hath sway-  
ed me, (though I confesse it a fault) yet it  
brings it's excuse. What loyal subject can relate  
his Soveraigns sufferings without a passion? what  
Free born English man's heart begins  
not to rise within him, when he does but  
think of those Tyrannies & Oppressions his  
Native Countrey hath of late groaned under?  
where I have been bitter, it has been with  
reason; where sweet, with a great deal of Justice.

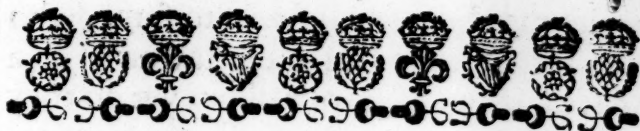
Yet one thing I shall desire the Reader to  
take notice of, that when I speak of the presby-  
terians, I mean not those moderate people,  
who are as truly loyal as they are godly; but some  
amongst

amongst them like wolves in sheeps cloathing  
(such as Straughan and Kerry in Scotland)  
who onely pretend themselves to be Presbyteri-  
ans, but are in their proof found Seditaries, these  
are the Flea-bitten Clergy, the Sowers of strife  
and sedition; and a scandal to those to whom  
they pretend to be Brethren.

To conclude, that all the Subjects of this Land  
may with one heart and voice agree together for  
the Restauration of our afflicted Soveraign, but of  
our more afflicted selves to just Rights and Pri-  
viledges, is the earnest prayer of,

*A Hearty well-wisher  
to his Countrey.*

THE



THE  
HISTORY  
OF

*CHARLES* the I I.

Third MONARCH of  
*Great Britain, &c.*

He Histories of *Englands* late oppressours have already cloyd and overladed the exuberant Press, whole Volumes daily coming forth, either of the Actions of the late long Parliament, or the life of their aspiring Generall *Cromwell*, which though adorn'd with all those flatteries, that could possibly proceed from the most beneficed pens, yet cannot in the least justifie their actions to the more sober sort of people; for though their memories

mories may here smell sweet to some, who have rather tasted of their savour, then suffered under their oppression, yet do they but render them to the sufferers more infamous, and to the Neuter ridiculous, like *the extolling of Don Quixot's Chivalry*.

And though there have been some who have adventured to set them out to the life, and paint them in their own colours; yet have many of these as farr exceeded the bounds of Truth, as the others came short of it, rather exasperated by their own, or to please their fellow sufferers, into so great extreams have either side been lead, out of fear or flattery, anger or passion.

Moderation and Impartiality are the chiefest virtues of an Historian, and therefore he who writes an History, should chuse such a subject to write on, where neither fear nor gain can induce him to flatter, anger or passion, or to too much bitterness.

Most of our modern Historians have proposed to themselves either profit, advantage or employment by their Works,  
which

which hath made them run into their so many grosse errors and flatteries ; whilst had they only endeavoured to represent things, persons and actions impartially, they had gained to themselves farr greater honour of true Writing.

I have chosen a subject to write of, which I conceive may lead me to a mediocrity, the Persons afflictions may induce me to pity him, but they will in most mens judgments restrain me from flattery. Nor need I out of fear, I being now ( though unwillingly ) out of his reach, mince the truth of his ( if any ) bad actions.

I confesse the Task I undertake is highly adventurous, my pen may slip, times may change, however my heart shall guide me to an impartiality.

*CHARLES* the II. Heir apparent to the Crown of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and crowned King of *Scots*, whose History I intend to treat of, was born on the 29. of *May*, 1630. to the great joy of the King, Queen, and indeed the whole Nation ; for never yet



yet had *England* a Prince born of so noble an extract and grand Alliance, his father by lineal right & descent King of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, his mother daughter to that thrice illustrious Prince *Henry* the Fourth, King of *France*, and worthily surnamed the Great; and *Maria de Medicis*. By his Grandmothers side was he near allied to the Kings of *Denmark*, by the marriage of his Aunt, the noble Princess *Elizabeth*, to the Elector Palatine of *Rhene*, & King of *Bohemia*; and afterwards by the marriage of his Royal Sister the Princess *Mary*, to the Prince of *Orange*. Thus was he allied to most, of the most potent Princes in Christendome. And happy might this Nation have been under his Government, if we may believe the vogue of that wisest of men *Solomon*, who pronounces that Kingdome blessed whose Prince is the son of Nobles.

He was some years after his birth (according to the ancient Customes of *England* for the Kings Eldest Son) invested Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester*,



*Chester*, and was in his minority brought up under the care of the Earle of *Newcastle*, till in the year 1646. the Lord *Hopton's* Army, in which he was, being near inclosed by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Generall of all the Parliaments Forces in the *Devizes* of *Cornwall*, and the King his Fathers affairs being in a desperat condition all over *England*, he was by the serious advice of his best friends, perswaded to take shipping, and depart for the *Scillies*, from whence he was by the Parliament invited to return to *London*, but he thought it safer for his Person to depart from thence to his Sister at the *Hague*, till the Royall affairs in *England* might gain a better posture, which he did, and there found a reception answerable to his Birth.

Not long after the King his Royall Father, being in danger to be inclosed in *Oxford* by General *Fairfax*, who returning out of the *west*, had designed to block it up, took care for his safety, and attended only by Mr. *Asburnham* (or as some say, attended on him) went privily out thence,

and threw himselfe upon the *Scotch Army* then at *Newark*, who shortly after notwithstanding his confidence of them, for a sum of money delivered him up most perfidiously and traiterously to his implacable Enemies; the *English Army*. These, after many pretences of Treaties, and seeming willingness to come to an accord with him, on that black day the 30. of *January 1648*. most villaniously and trayterously, beyond the imagination of the World, murder'd him.

Thus far is a short view of those hardships and afflictions undergone by this noble Prince, during his Fathers Life & Reign, we will now proceed to those he hath since ran through, which we may more properly and particularly call his Own.

Among which the Chief and greatest, and from whence all his other miseries flowed as from their spring head, was the deprivation of his Kingdom: & Royalties; For that part of the Parliament of *England* which had usurped the whole power or more, were not onely content to take away his

his fathers life, but by their Proclamation, deprive him of all right in the Government of those three Kingdomes, which they take upon themselves contrary both to the Word of God, the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, and his own undoubted right by birth, he being lineally descended from that Family, which had successively governed *England* for above three hundred years.

He was at that time of his Fathers death, at the Court of his Sister the Royal Princess of *Orange* in the *Hague*, in expectation to hear rather of the Conclusion of a Treaty then of his murder, to which effect he writ by the Lord *Seymour* the following Letter to him some short time before his Death.

For the King.

SIR,

HAVING no means to come to the knowledge of your Majesties present condition, but such as I receive from the Press; or (which is  
as

as uncertain) reports. I have sent this bearer Seymour to wait upon your Majesty, and to bring me an account of it, that I may withall assure your Majesty, I doe not onely pray for your Majesty according to my duty, but shall alwayes be ready to doe all which shall be in my power to deserve that blessing which I now humbly beg of your Majesty upon

Sir,

Your Majesties  
Most humble and most obedient  
Son and Servant,

CHARLES ———

Hague Jan. 23.

1648.

And here he staid till he heard the heart breaking news of his Fathers Murder, then shortly after he took his Journey to the Queen his mother in France; hoping there to get aid, but found none which might render him in a capacity to revenge his Father's Death, or demand his own right by force; and in vain it was to think of any fair means to attain it. Yet there  
wanted

wanted not some friends of his in *England*, who willing to demonstrate how ready they were to adventure themselves for him & his right, (as far as their weak abilities would stretch,) caused under hand a Proclamation to be printed, proclaiming him King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, and advising all his good Subjects to give all due Allegiance to him; but the low condition of the Royalists then in *England*, and the great strength and potency of the Parliaments Army, made this Proclamation invalid, and those who at a fit opportunity would willingly have complied with it, were forced to direct their Obedience to the contrary Goal.

But though *England* prov'd thus defective to his interest, not so much I dare say in Allegiance as power. Yet *Ireland* is at his Devotion, for the Marquess of *Ormond* and the Lord *Inchiquin*, having made a peace with the *Quondam* Rebels, he is by Joynt consent both of Papists and Protestants proclaimed King in most towns of that Nation, *Dublin*, and *London-Derry* only

ly excepted, which were kept from their Allegiance, the one by the Lieu. General *Jones*, the other by Sir *Charles Coote*, who joyntly strove to justify the Parliament of *Englands* late actions.

He being thus proclaimed there, is solemnly invited to come over to them, to which invitation, his Mother earnestly adds her desires, but the best of his friends and Counsellours, as earnestly dissuaded him, upon reasons drawn both from prudence and Policy, since in probability the design not succeeding, it would utterly ruine his hopes, with all the Protestant party then stedfast to him both in *Scotland* and *England*: or that if he would needs venture himselfe with this party, they desired him at least to attend, whether by any good event of theirs, there might be any probability of successe.

'Tis supposed that this Council swai'd with him more out of his real affection to the Protestant Religion then any other Politick reason. Yet he immediately after took a journey to the *Isle of Jersey*, which startled

startled some as though he had intended to have proceeded thence for *Ireland*, but that suspicion proved unnecessary: he was accompanied hither by his Brother the Duke of *York*, (who was lately come to him out of *Holland*) and many other Nobles & Gentlemen; the Islanders immediately upon his arrival most joyfully proclaimed him King; and the Lord *Iermyn* Earle of *Dartmouth* was made Governour of that Island, who constituted Sir *George Cartwright* his deputy Governour.

The King sends from hence his Royal command to the Governour of *Gersey* Island, which was then wholly subjected ( *Cornet Castle* only excepted ) to the Parliaments forces requiring him to surrender the said Island to him, and that his good Subjects there might have liberty to return to their due obedience: but his command proved ineffectual.

Many affirm, but how true I know not, that the reason of the Kings removal to this Island was out of design to surprize *Dartmouth* and some other places in the West;



West, by the Levellers help, who having then made a defection from the Parliaments Army in *England* were (say they) to have joyned with the Royalists for the intents and purposes aforesaid, but whether so or no I cannot affirm; though I can certainly tell this, that were it so, it proved uneffectual, for the Levellers were soon overpowred and quell'd.

Whilst King *Charles* was hear expecting a Messenger from the States of *Scotland*, came news of the unfortunate overthrow of the Marquess of *Ormond* his Army, by Lieu. General *Jones* before *Dublin*, which caused a generall sorrow among all his followers, for there had been great hopes & expectations of that Army, it amounting to no lesse then twenty two thousand men, & was esteemed able not onely to have taken *Dublin*, but likewise to have resisted *Cromwell's* then new comming Army in the field: yet whether by the carelessness of the Commanders, or security of the Souldiers, I am loath to judge: this mighty Army. then beleaguering *Dublin*, was beat from  
 D 2 before



before it by the besieged, and utterly routed by the third part of its Number.

This overthrow, the repulse of Sir *Robert Stuart* and Col. *Mervin* from *London-Derry* by Sir *Charles Coot* and *Cromwell's* suddain landing in *Ireland*, whose motion now there was no field Army either to attend or oppose, made his Majesties affairs grow almost as desperate in *Ireland*, as they were before in *England*.

But the *Scots Kirk* who had sold their King into the hands of the *Independant English Army*, after they heard that they had condemned him to death, repent them of their Wickedness, wash their hands from any guilt in his blood; Expostulate with the *English* sitting in Parliament, about their so severe proceedings, and protest against having any hand in his Murder; and to make the world believe they had yet some touch of loyalty within them, they had just after his death proclaimed *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, eldest Son to the late murdered King *Charles* the first, and his lawfull and undoubted Heir, King

of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; and had immediately resolved in the Committee of Estates then sitting to send some fitting persons to treat with his Majesty about sundry Articles; before his reception to the Crown, but long debates and demurs there were in the businesse before they could resolve what & whom to send.

For some there were in this *Grand Committee of Estates*, who, fee'd or seduced by the Sectaries in *England*, impeaded to the utmost of their power and endeavours all proceedings in the businesse, so that once in stead of debating what or whom they should send to his Majesty, it came to be a debate whether they should send or no, but at length a Letter and Propositions was by the prevailing part concluded on, and Mr. *Windram* Laird of *Libberton*, appointed to be the Messenger, who on the 25. of *September* 1649. received his dispatches; and some time after arrived before his Majesty at *Jersey*. The chief of their desires was to this effect.

That

That his Majesty would graciously be pleased himselfe to sign the Solemn League & Covenant, and that he would passe an Act in Parliament that every person in that Kingdome might take it.

That he would passe divers Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, which was concluded on the two last Sessions.

1. For approving of their disclaiming Duke Hamilton's last return. 2. For receiving severall Acts made by English for the Militia.

3. That the Kings of Scotland may have no negative voice.

3. That his Majesty would recall the late Commissions given to Montrosse.

4. That he would put away all Papists from about him.

5. That he would appoint some place about Holland to treat with their Commissioners. An honourable Company of the most noble Lords in Scotland, being to be appointed to attend his Majesty, to whom likewise they would send a sufficient provision to maintain him, a train suitable to his birth and deserved greatnesse.

6. That he would be graciously pleased to give a speedy answer to their desires.

These

These Propositions were very stilly debated *Pro* and *Con*, some were so firce that they would have his Majesty utterly reject the *Scots* Propositions as dishonourable & disadvantageous to his affaires. Others were of opinion, that it would more conduce to the Kings interest to accept of such Conditions as he could agree with the *Scotch* Commissioners, which would be a readier way to attain the Crown then by *Montrosse* his designs (who had lately received Commissions from the King to assault the North of *Scotland* with what force he could raise, however the business was still demurred and delayed, and no answer for a good while given to the Lord *Libberton*, who earnestly prest it, till such time as answer could come from *Montross*, then in *Holland*: and out of *France*, touching their opinions concerning these Propositions, concerning which *Montross* returned answer to his Majesty, desiring him to harken to the *Scotch* Commissioners whilst they would propose & agree to any thing which might stand with his Majesties honour for the restoring  
him

him to his Rights and Dignities. That for himselfe he should rather be content to endure banishment from his highnesse sight and person, then in the least prejudice his affaires. Thus this faithfull and loyall servant courted banishment, (as the late famous Earle of Strafford had done death) for his Masters good & service, but too generous was he, and had too great a sence of goodnesse & gratitude to grant his request, but returned him this answer, That he had so high a sence of his fidelity and loyalty all along, and that he had performed so many signal services both for his Father and himselfe, that he could not in honour leave him, and therefore desired him to press him no farther.

The Queen Mother likewise earnestly presses her son to the acceptance of the Scotch Propositions for a Treaty, as the onely and readiest way for the establishing him in his Kingdoms. These resolves of his Mother and the Marquess of Montross, wrought strongly with his Majesty; yet notwithstanding they are as stoutly opposed by the Lord. Cleveland, Byron, Gerard,

& others; whose chief opposition proceeded from the alledged Treachery of the Scots to his Father, That they were Scots still, and might practice the same upon him. But the majority of voices carrying it for a Treaty, it was resolved on, yet in regard it would require some time to frame an answer, Sir *William Fleming* was sent Agent to the Committee of Estates in *Scotland*, 'till such time as the Laird *Libberton* could be dispatched.

Short time after Mr. *Windram* returned into *Scotland* with a Letter and instructions by word of mouth, whereby he gave the Committee of Estates (who having long expected were therefore more desirous to hear what he now brought) an account how much he found his Majesty compliant to their Propositions, viz That as to what acted to the two last Sessions of Parliament he was content a Generall Act of Oblivion should be passed, but could not approve it. That neither those of *Montrosses* nor Duke *Hamilton's* party in his last engagement should bear Office in State without consent of Parliament. That he had ap-  
pointed



*pointed Breda in Holland for the place of a solemn Treaty, for the making a full accomodation and agreement between him and his loving Subjects of Scotland.*

The Contents of his Letter were  
as followeth.

*For the Committee of Estates of Scotland.*

CHARLES, R.

**W**E have received your Letters lately presented to us, by Mr. Windram of Libberton, and we accept gratioustly all the expressions of affection and fidelity therein contained towards us, with your tender resentment of our present Condition, and the just indignation which you profess to bave against the execrable Murther of our Father: and we believe that your intentions are full of Candor towards us, as we are, and always really have been desirous to settle a clear and right intelligence between us and our Subjects of our ancient Kingdome of Scotland, which may be an assured foundation of their happiness and peace for the time to come,

E

and

and an effectual means to root out all the seeds of animosity & divisions caused by these late troubles ; and also to unite the hearts and affections of our Subjects one to another , and of them all to us their King and lawfull Sovereign ; to the end that by their Obedience to our Royal and just Authority , we may be put in a condition to maintain them in peace and prosperity , & to protect them in their Religion & Liberty , as it appertains to us according to our charge & office of a King. And as we have alwayes resolved to contribute whatever is to be done by us to obtain these good effects , & for the just satisfaction of all our Subjects in this Kingdome.

We have now thought fit upon the Return of Mr. Windram , to command & desire you to send unto us Commissioners, sufficiently authorized to treat & agree with us , both in relation to the Interest & just satisfaction of our Subjects there , as also concerning the aid & assistance , which in all reason we may expect from them to bring and reduce the murtherers of our late most dear Father of happy memory to condign punishment, & to recover our just rights in all our Kingdomes. And we will that they attend us on the

E 2

fifteenth



fifteenth of March at the Town of Breda, where we intend to be in Order thereunto. And in confidence of a Treaty, as also to make known to you & all the World, that we sincerely desire to be agreed, We have resolved to Addresse these unto you under the Name & Title of a Committee of Estates of our Kingdome of Scotland, and will and expect that you use this grace no other-ways for any advantage to the prejudice of us, or our Affairs, beyond what we have given this Qualification and Title for, namely, for the Treaty and in order to it. Although we have considerations sufficient, and very important to dissuade and oblige us to doe nothing in this kind antecedently at this time. Also we hope the confidence which we declare to have in your clear and candid intentions towards us, will furnish you with strong Arguments to form in your selves a mutual confidence in us, which by the blessing of God Almighty by your just & prudent moderation, and by that great desire we have to oblige all our Subjects of that Kingdome, and by the means of the Treaty which we attend & hope for may be a good foundation of a full and happy peace, and an assured security to this Nation

for the time to come, which we assure you is wished of us with passion, and which we shall endeavour by all means in our power to effect.

This is the full of his Majesties Letter to the Cōmittee of Estates in *Scotland*, & much to this effect was there another writ by him to the *Committee of the Kirk*. But this I rather fully insert in regard of the many Calumnies cast upon it, and by it upon his Majesty. His enemies here by taking occasion to carp at him, by pretending his inveterate desire of revenge, which was so contrary to the last precepts given him by his dying father. I think, I need not answer his enemies objection, they by those carps, only condemning themselves of a self-guiltinesse, but to the more sober sort of people I shall refer it, and let them seriously consider whether the begining, progresse and end of the Latter, demonstrate him not a man more addicted to peace & quietnesse, then to revenge and destruction.

The principall Objection which his enemies have against him, is, that he desires the aid of his *Scotch* Subjects, to bring  
the

the Murderers of his Father to condigne punishment; does this shew him a lover of Revenge or of Justice? I would fain know which of his enemies or of his Fathers Murderers, would not, should I have done the same to any of their so near Relations, have endeavoured to have brought me under the utmost censure of the Law.

But to proceed, these Letters are seriously debated both in the Committee of Estates and *Kirk* the first order its consideration to a select sub Committee of their own, consisting of nine Lords and others, who present their opinions upon it to the grand Committee, and these provide ready a state of the Case to be presented to the Parliament of *Scotland* which was shortly after to assemble. But mean while a select number of the *Kirk* and State made up a Committee, who by common consent were to consider what was to be done about sending Commissioners and Propositions to his Majesty; these had strong and serious debates; for the arrogant *Kirkmen* would not have his Majesty admitted into  
*Scotland,*

*Scotland* , but upon Conditions which should make him wholly subservient to their commands: but the State would have such tart Conditions wholly waved ; and ( though their own were rough enough , yet ) at length a mediation is concluded on between theirs and the *Kirk*. And the Earl of *Castles*, the Lord *Louthian*, *Burley*, & *Libberton* , Sir *John Smith* and Mr. *Jeaffreys* for the *Estates*. Mr. *Broady* , *Lawson* and *Wood* are appointed Commissioners for the *Kirk*.

These having received their Commissions and Instructions , took their journey for *Holland* and arrived at *Breda* , some few dayes before his Majesty got thither. On the 16. *March* 1649. he also arrived there, and on the 19. the Lord *Wentworth* Master of the Ceremonies conducted them to Audience , being come before his Majesty , who in a large Chamber purposely provided , expected them , The Lord *Castles* in behalfe of the *Estates* , and Mr. *Lawson* in behalf of the *Kirk* , having made their Speeches, declared the occasiō of their coming, and

and shewing their Commissions , they delivered the ensuing Propositions in the behalfe both of the *Kirk & State of Scotland*.

1. "That all those who had been ex-  
"communicated by the Church , and still  
"continued so, should be forbid accessse to  
"the Court.

2. "That all Acts of the Parliament of  
"Scotland should be by him ratified and  
"approved of. That the solemn League  
"and Covenant, the Presbyterian Church-  
"government , The Directory , Confessi-  
"on and Catechism should be enjoyned in  
"Scotland ; and the same used and practi-  
"sed in his family , and an Oath to be tak-  
"en by him , that he would never oppose  
"it, or endeavour to alter it.

3. "That he would by solempne Oath,  
" & under his hand & seal declare and ac-  
"knowledge his allowance of the solempne  
"League and Covenant , & the National  
"Covenant of *Scotland*.

4. "That he would consent and agree  
"that all civil matters might be determi-  
"ned by subsequent Parliaments in Scot-  
"land,

“*land*, and all Ecclesiastical matters by  
 “the General *Kirk* assembly, as was for-  
 “merly granted by his Royal father.

*To these Propositions his Majesty  
 demanded,*

“Whether this were fully and wholly  
 “all that the Committee of Estates and  
 “*Kirk* in *Scotland* had to desire or pro-  
 “pound? & whether these Commissioners  
 “had power to remit or recede from any  
 “of these particulars; and further, what  
 “they had to propound concerning his  
 “affairs in *Scotland*.

*To which the Commissioners replied,*

“That they had acquainted him with  
 “their full power, according to the in-  
 “structions they had received from the  
 “Committees of Estates and *Kirk* in *Scot-*  
 “*land*

“Upon which his Majesty made an-  
 “swer; that he would consider of their  
 Pro-

“ Propositions , and doubted not but to re-  
“ turn them such an Answer as might give  
“ his Kingdom of *Scotland* satisfaction: and  
so dismissed them for the present.

But let us thus leave his Majesty and  
Council debating about the *Scotch* Com-  
missioners propositions , and discourse a  
little about his affairs under the conduct  
of the thrice noble and Illustrious Mar-  
quess of *Montross* , who having ( notwith-  
standing the opposition which *Hamilton*  
gave to the design ) obtained Commis-  
sioners from his Majesty to leavy what force  
he could on that side the sea , endeavoured  
to the utmost of his power to effect it , but  
chiefly among the Princes of the *German*  
Empire , where he found large and fair  
promises , but very little real assistance ,  
onely the Duke of *Holstein* supplied him  
with four ships well arm'd and mann'd ,  
though these were likewise by some  
strange neglect delayed a long time at *Am-*  
*sterdam* , which much retarded the service.  
Colonel *Cochram* likewise who had been  
sent agent into *Poland* to the *Scottish* Mer-  
chants



chants there for assistance of men and money, having received a considerable quantity of money, and good supply of corn, disposed of the first to his own use, sold the other, and himselfe revolted from the service. General *King*, who was expected out of *Sweden* with a party of Horse, came not at all; so many crosses there were in the beginning of the business as had Omens to it's future ill successe. But at length the Marquesse fearing least if the King should conclude with the *Scots* before he had attempted any thing, his Commissions would be recalled, fatally resolved to depart *Scotland* as he was. So with four ships indifferently well armed, (but with not above six or seaven hundred men, & those most strangers) besides a small Frigate of sixteen Guns, & one thousand five hundred good Armes given him by the Queen of *Sweden*; he set sail, & this was all the strength he carried with him from *Hamburg* to assault that potent Kingdom. Two of these ships, and those the biggest, were sent before, & directed to steer their course for the *Orkades*, but these

these unfortunately met with a storm ; and where amongst those rocky Islands , their men , arms & amunition was cast away , so that a third part of the Forces raised for this expedition was lost.

But notwithstanding these fatal disasters , the sad presages of his ruine , the noble Marquess proceeds, and with the small number that was left him , lands amongst the Islands where he gets together a pretty considerable number which had almost the face of an Army , but was for the most part composed of raw and unskillfull fellows , a party of these he sends out , who without resistance enters the Isle of *Orkney* , there being no Garrison there ; from thence he dispatches Commissioners to *Scotland* , and the Island adjacent , for the levying of Horse and Foot , which because the inhabitants of those places to which they were sent could not resist , obeyed ; and not long after the sending of those Commissions , *Montross* himself ; with those forces he had , and those Gentlemen , resolved to engage in partaking of his fortune,

tune, landed in *Scotland*. at the point of *Cathanes*, the very farthest land to the *North-west* of that Kingdom.

The people here whom he expected to have joyned with him ( were so sensible of the miseries of the former war, and now more terrified with the name of Forraigners, ) deserted their dwellings, and fled away, some never stopping till they came to *Edenbrough*.

The Parliament of *Scotland* who were now assembled, though they had former advice of the Marquess's designs, yet could not tell the place of his landing, but now alarm'd by the flying Countrey : *David Lesley* is commanded with the body of the Army to march directly towards them for feare *Montross*s should grow too numerous: and Colonel *Straughan*, whose valour the States highly approved, is ordered with a party of select Horse to advance before, to hinder the Marquess's levyes, and if he saw opportunity to fight him.

*Montrosse* in the mean time to satisfy the World, and because the people should not

be startled at his Invasion, whilst the King was upon Treaty, publishes a very patheticall Declaration, declaring the justice of his cause, and to clear himselfe from the aspersion of sinister ends, and that his intention was only against some particular persons, who had against the Laws of the Kingdome, raised and maintained a war against his Majesties father. and did now by their wiles and subtile practices endeavour to destroy the Son also; & therefore exhorting all Subjects of that Nation to endeavour to free themselves from the Tyranny of those who then by an usurped power ruled over them. But notwithstanding this Declaration, the Countrey came very slowly in.

*Straughan* in the mean time advances with all possible speed towards the Royall party, whilst *Montross* had not (for indeed he could not effect) any thing Material besides the fortifying of *Dunbath* Castle: but the Marques hearing of the enemies approach, made his whole Forces march at a great rate to recover a pass; yet nevertheless

lets before they could come at it ; the front of the Army discovered *Straughan's* forlorn hope , who marching with hast upon the *Marquesses* Army, found them both almost tired, & out of breath & Order ; however a forlorn hope of a 100. foot are drawn out to meet them, who giving them a resolute Charge forced them to an Orderly Retreat, but being seconded by *Straughan's* whole body of Horse they again maintained their ground resolutely Charging upon the *Marquesses* main body : the Islanders immediately threw down their Arms and cryed for quarter, but the *Holsteiners* and *Hamburgers* made an Orderly retreat for the present into some bushes, which having a short time defended , they were at last enforced to yeild.

This was a sad blow to his Majesties affairs in *Scotland* ; there being great hopes, that had *Montross* succeeded and kept them in play, both *Kirk* and *State* would have come to milder Conditions with him. Yet the *Marquess* himselfe escaped for the present out of this Battel, Though there  
were

were near two hundred slain, and twelve hundred taken in the field ( for the Countrey coming in upon them, few escaped, (Amongst the Prisoners of note, there were taken Col. *Hurry*, the Lord *Frenderick*, Sir *Francis Hay* of *Dalgettey*, Col. *Hay* of *Noughton*, Col. *Gray* and several other Officers; together with the Kings Standard, which contained this Emphaticall Motto, *JUDGE AND REVENGE MY CAUSE O LORD*; and whereon was pourtrayed to the life the Effigies of his Majesties Father beheaded.

But long it was not ere this thrice Heroick Marquess fell into the hands of these cruel, Obdurate & inveterate enemies; for though when he saw the Battell at a losse, he had saved himselfe by escaping out of the field, and had afterwards to disguise himselfe changed his habit with an *Highlander*, yet all could not prevail to his Escape, for the whole Country was raised up in armes in search after him, and a price set upon his head by the States, but especially the *Presbyterian* Ministers exhorted the people to  
en-



endeavour his attachment, as a thing necessary to their Salvation.

At length the whole Countrey being up in armes about him, and no way left for this distressed Marquess to escape, he thought it better to throw himselfe upon the Lord *Aston*, formerly a friend of his, and now out in the search with some of his Tennants, then fall into the hands of his more inveterate and implacable enemies. But this Lord, notwithstanding he had formerly been *Montross's* follower, either out of fear or covetousness durst not conceal him; but sent him with a strong guard to *David Lesly*; by whom he was directly sent to *Edenbrough*, & shortly after brought to his Tryall before the Parliamant of *Scotland*: where all the while notwithstanding those many ignominious affronts and disgraces thrown upon him (as his being in triumphant manner brought through *Edenbrough* bound in a Cart) yet he carried himself with so much Magnanimity and Courage, That those of his Enemies, who did not pity him, yet were almost asham-



ed of their villainies towards him.

The Parliament of *Scotland* upon the first newes of this Noble Marquess being made a Prisoner, met, and resolved to pass a sentence upon him before either he was come up, or had at all answered for himself, & though, when they allowed him to speak somewhat for himself, (which he pronounced with gravity void of passion,) yet he had as good have held his peace; for the sentence being agreed upon, it was past to this effect.

“ That he should be carried to the place  
 “ from whence he came, and from thence  
 “ (no morrow being the 21. day of  
 “ *May* 1650.) be carried to the high Cross  
 “ in *Edinbruogh* and be hanged upon a Gib-  
 “ be thirty foot high, and there hang for  
 “ the space of three hours in the sight and  
 “ view of all people, with his History and  
 “ Declaration hanging about his Neck;  
 “ after which he should be taken down,  
 “ beheaded and quartered; his head to be  
 “ placed upon, the *Talbooth* or prison house  
 “ in *Edinbruogh*, and his legs & arms over  
 “ the

“ the gates of the Cities of *Sterling*, *Glas-*  
 “ *cow*, *S. Iohns town* and *Aberdeen*. And in  
 “ case he repented ( by which means his  
 “ sentence of Excommunication might be  
 “ taken off by the *Kirk*) the bulk of his bo-  
 “ dy might be buried in *Grayfriars*, if not,  
 “ to be buried in the Common burying  
 “ place for thieves and robbers. Thus far  
 did their unparallel’d hatred and malice  
 extend even to his dead Corps.

This Sentence being aggravated by the  
 Chancellour in the utmost terms of hor-  
 rour that his spleen could invent, was yet  
 mildly and unpassionately received by this  
 Illustrious Marqueſs, who answered no-  
 thing to it. But, “ That he took it for a  
 “ greater honour to have his head stand on  
 “ the prison gate for this quarrel, then to  
 “ have his picture in the Kings Bed-cham-  
 “ bers; and least his loyalty should be for-  
 “ gotten, they had highly honoured him,  
 “ in designing lasting Monuments to four  
 “ of the chiefest Cities to bear up his me-  
 “ morial to all posterity; wishing he had  
 “ flesh enough to have sent a piece to every

“ City in Christendome, to witness his  
 “ loyalty to his King and Countrey.

The next day being the day appointed  
 for his execution, richly habited, in a scar-  
 let Cloak laced with gold, but his soul a-  
 dorned with constant Loyalty the far rich-  
 er Ornament of the two, he marched along  
 the street with so composed a Courrage &  
 Gravity, that most of his Enemies either  
 pityed or admired him: being come to the  
 place of execution, he was some time de-  
 tained with many frivolous questions of  
 the flea-bitten Clergy, being ready to  
 mount up the lader, he said it was Jacob's  
*Lader by which he should mount to Heaven.*

His Speech to the people was short and  
 much to this effect. “ That he was sory if  
 “ his end should be scandalous to any good  
 “ Christian: but that it often happened  
 “ to the Righteous according to the wayes  
 “ of the wicked, that they who knew him  
 “ should not disesteem him for his ignomi-  
 “ nious death. That he confessed it was the  
 “ judgement of God upon him for his pri-  
 “ vat sins; but as for his condemners, they

“ were but instruments. That they had  
“ perverted judgement and justice and op-  
“ pressed the poor : yet he desired God to  
“ forgive them, for he heartily forgave  
“ them. That what he did in that King-  
“ dome, he did it in obedience to the just  
“ commands of his Sovereign, to assist him  
“ against those which rose up against him.  
“ That it was not his fault that he lay un-  
“ der the sensure of the Church, since ’twas  
“ only for doing his duty. That for what  
“ was said of him that he should blame the  
“ King, he said, ’twas most false, for (saies  
“ he ) the late King lived a Saint, and died  
“ a Martyr. That if ever he should wish  
“ his soul in any mans place, it should be  
“ in his. That for the King now living, he  
“ was a Prince under whom any people  
“ might live most happily, his commands  
“ were righteous, his promises faithfull,  
“ and his dealings just. Finally, that he  
“ commended his soul to God, his service  
“ to his Prince, his good will to his friends,  
“ and his name & charity to all good peo-  
ple.

This

This was the sum of his speech on the ladder, which, and some private prayers being finished : he mounted up the top of that prodigious Gibbet, where his History and Declaration being tied about his neck, and his hands bound by the Executioner, he turned about and gave him some gold, asking ; *If they had any more dishonour, as they conceived it, to put upon him, he was ready to accept it,* and then with a great deal of magnanimity, bidding the Executioner turn him off when he should hold up his hands, it was accordingly performed.

Thus nobly lived, and thus ignominiously & yet nobly died: the truest of friends, the loyallest of Subjects, the faithfulest of Servants, the best of Masters, and the valiantest of Captrains. James Graham, Marquess of Montross Earl of Rindardin, Lord of Groam and Baron of Montdieu, whose death was not only lamented as a private but rather as publick loss: most of the Princes in Europe deploring the unfortunate fall of so Noble and Heroick a person ; for he was endowed with such winning graces, that

that whereever he came he was both honoured and esteemed, and whereever he Commanded, both feared and loved.

His enemies Mallicce, though he was dead, kept still alive; for after they had beheaded him and cut off his quarters, they would not permit that bulk of his body which remained to be buried in any other place then the *Borough Moor*.

But this Noble Marquefs suffered not alone, for soon after Col. *Hurrie* (notwithstanding he pleaded the benefit of Quarter, young *Spotswood* of *Daersie*, A most compleat Gentleman) Sir *Francis Hay*, & Col. *Sibbalds*, two most accomplished persons, though they had all the favour to be beheaded.

There was likewise one Captain *Charters*, who being put in hopes of life by the perfidious *Kirk*, upon his recantation, made a long speech upon the Scaffold, acknowledging his Apostacy from the Covenant, and desiring to be reconciled to the *Kirk* but had notwithstanding his head struck off,

This



This was the fatall and Tragickall Event of his Majesties affairs in *Scotland* under *Montrosse's* Conduct : let us now turn to see how the treaty at *Breda* went on in the mean time.

But before I proceed any further, give me leave to speak a word or two, concerning the Magnanimous Col. *Will. Sibbalds*, who (say some) confessed himselfe guilty of the Murther of D. *Dorislau*s the *English* Agent at the *Hague*, which I must ingeniously confesse I believe upon good ground to be only a Calumny and scandal raised from the so far extended Malice of his enemies; for I can find nothing either in his speech at Death, or in any Records of credit tending to such a confession, though much against any likelihood of it: nor can I imagine that any man could with so much resolution as he dyed with, part from this world, and have so great a load and blot upon Conscience. But to proceed, Great debates there were in the mean time between his Majesty and the *Scotch* Commissioners concerning the Treaty, and great demurs



demurs there were upon it ; for besides the striving of some Lords who had a kind of a serious Antipathy to the Scots perfidiousness, and endeavoured to perswade his Majesty not to trust them who had betrayed his Father. The King himselfe stuck highly as he had reason, about the business of of taking the Covenant ; For, 1. *There was no reason why he should be enforced to relinquish the Religion of his Fathers, and whilst he permitted to his Subjects Liberty of Conscience, it would be very inconsistent with their so earnestly pretended desires of a peace and agreement, to deny him the same priviledge which he gave them.* 2. *That Covenant tendered, and so earnestly prest upon him by them, was an Obligatory Covenant to bind the Subjects to him, and not for him to swear to ; and therefore he judged it sufficiently satisfactory to pass an act for the peoples taking it.*

Whilst these demurs and delayes were in the Treaty, the Scotch Commissioners give a visit to the Illustrious Prince of Orange, whom they intreat to be a Mediator between them and their King. His Majesty likewise

likewise withdrawes himselfe for some time from *Breda* to the *Hague*, there to advise with his Aunt the Queen of *Bohemia*, the Prince of *Orange* and other friends, about what he were best to resolve on, or determine.

But the *Estates* of *Scotland* though their proposed *Conditions* were already unreasonable, yet resolve to add more weight to the scale: the Earl of *Carnarworth* and Mr. *Murrey* are sent over to the Commissioners at *Breda* with new instructions and propositions; As, 1. That his Majesty should confirm all *Acts* done in some late Sessions of Parliament, without any exception. 2. That neither *Montross* nor any of his adherents be admitted to come into the Kingdom of Scotland.

But notwithstanding the harshness of the Conditions, the King is earnestly pressed to come to a full conclusion with the Scots, Though many Lords of the contrary faction pleaded for an utter rejection of their propositions, alleading to his Majesty, That the *Covenanters* horrid perfiduousness to his

H

Father,

Father might be a sufficient motive and inducement for him not to trust them; That the more willing he was to condescend to their Propositions, the more impudent they were still in proposing things most unreasonable; That should he accept of their Conditions, they would so tie up his hands that he would be then but a King only in Title, which he was without them. On the other side, the Earl of Lauderdale, the Lord Wilmot, Piercy, and others of his Majesties Council who stood for an accomodation with the Scots, urged, That his Majesties affairs both in Ireland, under the Marquess of Montross, and in the Navy under Prince Rupert, were in so weak and tottering a Condition, that no helpe could be expected from them; That all the Princes in Europe were so imbroyled in Wars of their own, that it was in vain to crave any Forreign aid; & that therefore there was no way left for his Majesty to regain his lost Rights and Kingdoms but by complying with his Subjects of Scotland, and though it were upon such Conditions as would at first seem harsh, those Curbs might in time (possession got) be thrown off by degrees; these reasons swayed with his

Majesty, & the Treay went on with a clearer face then formerly.

But now there happens a strong demur, or as most supposed, a business that would wholly break off the Treay, for the newes of *Montrosse's* ignominious death being come to *Breda*, extreemly incensed the whole Court, and those who were against the Treay, bestirred themselves strongly, still endeavouring to avert the King wholly from it, by telling him, " That they had  
" by thus murdering his Lieutenant, De-  
" monstrated to the World what they  
" would do to him if they had him in their  
" power ; That it was an act of rashnesse  
" and desperation to trust them, or to have  
" any more to do with such a perfidious  
" generation ; That they only cunningly  
" and subtilly endeavoured to entrap  
" him that they might destroy him. But notwithstanding their heat, his Majesty conceals his anger, ( which doubtless could not but be great, for the death and the so Ignominious death of so good and loyal a subject and Servant; and that too in

his quarrel, and for obeying his just commands (only he expresse his resentment of their so strange proceedings to the Committee of Estates by a Message sent by Mr. *Murrey* to this effect.

“ That it could not but grieve and perplex  
“ him to hear, that whilst they pretended  
“ to conclude a peace, they proceeded in  
“ the way of War; and that whilst they  
“ treated of an accord with him, they shed  
“ the blood of his best Subjects, and that  
“ in such a manner, that if true as reported,  
“ they could not imagine but it must  
“ extremely incense him, he therefore desired  
“ them to give him an account of  
“ their businessse.

*To this they return Answer.*

“ That their affections were still reall to  
“ him, & that it rejoyced their very soules,  
“ to hear that he would be willing to concure  
“ with them in a peace and agreement,  
“ That as for the Death of *Montross*, they  
“ desired it might be no obstacle in the  
“ way, for that they did nothing in it  
“ but with a reall intention to promote his  
“ interest.

Thus

Thus they endeavoured to excuse themselves, but it was not their excuse, nor their so many reiterated Protestations of fidelity, but the necessity of the Kings affairs, which drew him not long after to conclude the Treaty at *Breda* ( notwithstanding the violent opposers of it) by condescending to most of their desires

The conclusion of the Treaty was soon carried to *Edenbrough*, where the Parliament being met, it was yet by some of those who favoured the Secterian party in *England* made a debate, *whether they should make any more addressees to the King*. So impudent were they even after the treaty was concluded with him, but there were found but thirty of these malevolent persons; so the major part of the Votes carrying it in the affirmative, it was resolved that another message should be sent unto him, to invite him to make all possible speed to his Kingdome of *Scotland*, protesting that they would venture Lives and Fortunes in assisting him to regain his Rights & Kingdoms; but they not only debar him from  
having

having those whom he chiefly favoured to wait upon him, but likewise prohibit the Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Lauderdale* & *Seaforth*, and many other persons of qualities return to *Scotland*, and they nominate such persons as they thought fit out of their own Gang to be officers of his household there.

The *Juncto* then sitting and Governing in *England*, had certain intelligence all along of the proceeds of the Treaty between his Majesty and the *Scots*, together with their Propositions to assist him in the recovery of his Rights in *England* by some who sat in the Parliament of *Scotland*, betrayed their counsells, and earnestly solicited the *English* to assault *Scotland*, before they were themselves assaulted and invaded, to which effect they prepare an Army without any just pretence, which they give to *Oliver Cromwell* to command, making him Generalissimo of all the Forces of that Commonwealth in the room of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, whose Commission was between taken away and laid down.

Some



Some time before his Majestie's departure from *Holland* into *Scotland*, newes was brought of the unfortunate loss of all Prince *Rupert's* Fleet, most of his ships being either taken, sunk or burnt by General *Blake*, Admiral to the *English* Navy; so though the Treaty was concluded with *Scotland*, his Majestie's affairs went every where else to wrack.

At length all things being in a readines, his Majesty about the beginning of *June* 1650. took shipping at *Sheveling* in *Holland*, and after a tedious storm, and narrow escape of some *English* Vessels which lay in wait for him, arrived at *Spey* in the *North* of *Scotland*. Some Lords are sent down to receive him, and to accompany him to *Edenbrough*, where two stately houses are richly provided and furnish't to entertain him.

He was all along the Countrey entertained with the General joy of all the people, severall presents being given him by the Towns as he came along. *Aberdeen* presented him with 1500. *l* but the Committee

mittce of *Eſtates* and *Kirk* fearing that ſuch diet would prove too unwieldy to their pleaſures , ſent an injunction to ſeveral places , requiring them that what ever moneys they had to beſtow , they ſhould bring it to ſuch treaſuries as ſhould be appointed by them. Thus they permit not the Subjects to ſhew their good will to their Sovereign , nor him to receive it.

Nor were the *States* & *Kirk* as yet content with thoſe hard conditions : but they ſend him new propoſitions to *Dundee* to ſign , which after ſome reluctance he performed ; for indeed he could do no otherwiſe , being now in their clutches.

The Parliament and Committee of *Eſtates* in *Scotland* had while they expected his Majeſties arrivall been conſulting about the framing of an Army , every fourth man in the Kingdome is ordered to be trained ; and ſixteen thouſand foot, and ſix thouſand horſe to be raiſed for his Majeſties preſent ſervice. Of this Army the Earle of *Leven* is made General of the Foot , and *Holborn* Major General, *David Leſley*

*Lesley* Lieutenant General of the Horse, and *Montgomery* Major General: the place of *Generalissimo* was reserved for the King, though he never went into the field with the Army.

His Majesty being come to *Edenbrough*, is received by the Parliament and Committee of *Estates* & *Kirk*, with infinite complements and expressions of fidelity & affection, and with great acclamations of joy from the people, and on the 15. of *July* is again solemnly proclaimed King at *Edenbrough* Crosse, but his coronation yet defer'd by reason of the then troubles.

For the *English* Army, notwithstanding the *Scots* had expostulated them the unjustness of invading their Countrey, was advanced upon the borders, & at *Muscleborough* the *Scots* under *Montgomery* with a small party, set upon the *English* Army, but were worsted, and so the two Armies moved at a distance one from the other, till they came as far as *Dunbar*, where the *Scots* had got a considerable advantage, by reason of a passe, and brag'd they had got the

*English* in a pound : but whether by their own carelesnesse and over security; or the over-reaching, courage and valour of the *English*, I cannot tell, a totall losse they had there, the passe gain'd from them, & themselves wholly routed and dispersed.

I am the shorter in relating the passages between these two Armies, in regard that though the King was made *Generalissimo*; yet he had no influence upon the Army, which might rather be called the *States* or *Kirks* then the Kings; for though he was there present; and bore the title of *King*, yet they had the whole power, and made and revoked Lawes and Orders.

The King was then with the States at *Saint Johnstons*, when the newes of this losse, and that of the Death of his Sister the Princessse *Elizabeth* arriv'd much about the same time, and some have been bold to affirm that the latter grieved him more then the former, in regard of the imperiousness which 'twas probable the States of *Scotland* would have usurped, had the successe answered their minds.

And sufficiently imperious were both they and the *Kirk* already, notwithstanding the ill fortune of their affairs; for, so great was their insolency towards his Majesty, in their earnestness to purge his house, in extorting Declarations from him against his own party and proceedings, & in usurping the whole government of affairs to themselves, in placing guards of their own creatures upon his Person, &c. That his sacred Majesty no longer able to suffer such intollerable affronts & abuses, went secretly away, accompanied only with four horse towards the *North of Scotland*, where the *Marquess of Huntley*, the *Earls of Seaforth and Atholl*, the *Lords Ogilby and Newburgh*, with the *Gourdon*s were ready to appear for him with a considerable party.

*Scotland* was at this time not only perplexed with a forreign enemy in her bowels, but with civill distempers & divisions; for in the *West* there was a party under the command of *Straughan & Kerr*; who declar'd against the actions of the Committee of E-

“ states, for their too much hast and pre-  
“ cipitation in the Treaty with the King  
“ for their receiving him before he had  
“ given any evidence of a real change. That  
“ they believed his profession of the cause  
“ and covenant was counterfeit, and there-  
“ fore refused to submit to his power ;  
These men were purely for the *Kirk* a-  
gainst the King's Authority.

Another party there was in the *North*  
under the Command of *Huntley*, *Atholl*,  
*Seaforth*, &c. who declared purely for the  
Kingly Authority disclaiming and dis-  
owning all power or order of the *Kirk*,  
Parliament or Committee of Estates.  
These having gotten together a considera-  
ble party, it was supposed by the Com-  
mittee of Estates that his Majesty was gon  
to them, whereupon to quiet & alay them  
if possible, an Act of Indempnity was pas-  
sed by *Parliament* for what they had done ;  
but they sleighted it, fell upon Sir *John*  
*Brown's* Regiment, and slew and took pri-  
soners many of his men ; Whereupon  
Lieut. Generall *David Lasley* was sent a-  
gainst;

gainst him; but the whole business after the Kings return to St. *Johnston's* ended in a Treaty.

The third & greatest party were the *Parliament & Committee of Estates & Kirk*, who were equally for King & *Kirk*; these were highly perplexed and discontented at the King's going away from S. *Johnston's* and the more because they feared he was gon to the *Athol men*, many controversies & consultations were had about it; some were so ridged as to propose, that since he had deserted them, they should look no more after him, but let him take his own wayes: Others were more mild, and would yet have him understand their resentment for his leaving them; nor wanted there some sticklers for his Majesty; at length it was concluded that Major General *Montgomery* should speedily march after him, and earnestly intreat him to return to S. *Johnstons*.

*Montgomery* according to his order went, and having had secret information that his Majesty was at the Lord *Deau's* house  
in



in the *North* confines of *Fife*, he first surrounds the house, and then sends in a Messenger to acquaint the King with the earnest desires of the Committee of Estates; that he would graciously be pleased to return with him to St. *Johnston's*; but his Majesty at first absolutely refused, as scorning to endure that slavery which they had subjected him to, he was in the mean time earnestly solicited by *Huntley*, and the *Gordons* to adhere solely to them, which he so much seemed to incline to, that he had almost made the breach implacable between that party and the *Kirk*; but at length upon severall propositions granted him, he returned with *Montgomery* to St. *Johnston's*.

The King being thus returned, and *Huntley's* party come in by admitting those with him to bear publick Offices, a general Meeting was resolved on to be held at St. *Johnston's*, which should consist of King, Lords, Barons, Burgesses and the assembly of Ministers; whereupon the Committee of the *Kirk* are summoned to meet, but

but stand off, alledging that *Sterling* was the more convenient place to meet in; To which the *States* answer'd, that they esteemed *S. Johnston* the fitter, that if they would not meet, they should consult for their own securities, but at length they consent; The grand Assembly meets, & all parties seem now agreed. Severall Lords formerly in disfavour with the *Kirk*, are received into Command in the Army, or have liberty to sit in Parliament, such as *Hamilton, Lauderdale, Lieth, Bucheim, Dedup,* and *Crawford*, Major Generall *Massey* of the *English* was admitted to a command in the Army. Thus did their divisions begin to be cemented, which else must necessarily have hastened their Ruine.

About this time the King received the sad newes of the death of the thrice illustrious Prince of *Orange*, Brother-in-law to his Majesty, & who had demonstrated himselfe a true & faithfull friend to him in his necessities; his Lady the Royall Princess *Mary* was by him left great with Child, and soon after his death was delivered of a  
Post-

hume son.

And now on the first of *January* the day appointed by the Grand Convention at *S. Johnston's* the solemnity having been removed to *Scone* the usuall place for the Coronation of the Kings of *Scotland*; First his Maicsty in a Princes Robe, was conducted from his Bed-chamber by the *Constable* and *Marshal* to the Chamber of presence, where he was by the Lord *Angus* Chamberlin placed in a Chair under a cloth of Estate; Then the Nobles and Commissioners of Baronyes & Burroughs entred the Room, and having shown themselves to his Majesty, the Chancellor spake to this effect.

“ Sir, your good Subjects desire you may  
 “ be crowned, as righteous and lawfull  
 “ Heir of the Crown of this Kingdom,  
 “ that you would maintain the present  
 “ professed Religion the Nationall Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant.  
 “ That you would graciously be pleased  
 “ to receive them under your protection,  
 “ to govern them according to law, to defend them in their rights and priviled-  
 “ ges

“ges by your Royal power, they offering  
 “themselves in humble manner to your  
 “Majesty with their vowes to bestow  
 “Land, Life & what else is in their power  
 “for the maintenance of Religion, for the  
 “safety of your Majesties sacred person,  
 “and maintenance of your Crown, which  
 “they entreat your Majesty to accept, and  
 “pray Almighty God that for many  
 “years you may enjoy the same.

*The King to this made Answer.*

“I do esteem the affections of my good  
 “people more then the Crowns of many  
 “Kingdomes, & shall be ready by Gods affi-  
 “stance to bestow my life in their Defence;  
 “wishing to live no longer then I may see  
 “Religion and the Kingdom flourish in all  
 “happines.

This ceremony performed, the Nobles  
 and Commissioners of Baroneys and Bur-  
 roughs accompanied his Majesty to the  
 Church of *Scone*; the Spurs being carried  
 before him by the Earl of *Eglinton*, the  
 K sword

sword by the Earl *Roths*, the scepter by the Earls of *Craford* & *Lindsey*; the Crown by the Marquess of *Argyle*; immediatly before the Kings Majesty; who followed supported by the Constable & Marshall; his train born up by the Lords *Montgomery*, *Ereskin*, *Newbottle*, and *Machelene*; under a Canopy of crimson Velvet, supported by the Lords *Drummond*, *Carnegie*, *Ramsay*, *Johnson*, *Brechin*, and *Yster*; which six were supported by six Noble men's sons.

Thus they went to the Church, which being fitted for the purpose, the Honours were laid upon a table provided for them, and his Majesty ascended on a stage 24. foot square, & seated himself in a Chair to hear the sermon; upon this stage there was another smaller stage erected whereon the Throne stood. His Majesty being seated on the Chair, a Sermon was preached by *Robert Douglas* moderator of the Commission of the General assembly; Sermon being ended, the National Covenant of *Scotland*, and the solemn League and Covenant were distinctly read, which done,

the Oath was ministred in these Words.

‘ I CHARLES King of *Britain* , *France*  
 ‘ and *Ireland* , doe assure and declare  
 ‘ by my Solemn Oath , in the presence  
 ‘ of Amighty God the Searcher of all  
 ‘ hearts , my allowance and approbation  
 ‘ of the Nationall Covenant , and of the  
 ‘ solemn League and Covenant ; and faith-  
 ‘ fully Oblige my selfe to prosecute the  
 ‘ ends thereof in my station and calling ;  
 ‘ and that I for my selfe & successurs shall  
 ‘ consent & agree to all acts of Parliaments  
 ‘ enjoyning the Nationall Covenant , and  
 ‘ the solemn League and Covenant : and  
 ‘ fully establish Presbyterian Government,  
 ‘ the Directory of Worship , Confession  
 ‘ of Faith , and Catechismes in the King-  
 ‘ dom of *Scotland* , as they are approved by  
 ‘ the General assemblies of this *Kirk* , and  
 ‘ Parliament of this Kingdome , and that I  
 ‘ shall give my Royall assent to acts & Or-  
 ‘ dinances of this Parliament passed , or to  
 ‘ be passed , enjoyning the same in my other  
 ‘ Dominions . And that I shall observe these  
 ‘ in mine own practice & Family , & shall

‘ never make opposition to any of those,  
‘ or endeavour any change thereof.

The King having thus solemnly sworn, the Nationall covenant, the solemn League and Covenant, with the oath subjoined, was by him under written in the presence of them all; which done, the King ascended the other Stage, and sat down in the Throne. Then the Lords great Constable and Marshall went to the four corners of the Stage, *Lyon* king at Arms going before them, who spake these words to the people, *Sirs, I do present unto you the King, CHARLES, the Rightfull and undoubted Heir of the Crown & Dignitie of this Realm; this day is by the Parliament of this Kingdom appointed for his Coronation. And are you not willing to have him for your King, and become subject to his commandements?* At this Action the King stood up, and shewed himselfe to the people round about, who expressed their consent by their joyfull acclamations, crying, *God save King CHARLES the Second.*

Then his Majesty descended from his  
Throne



Throne into the Chair, where he sat to hear the Sermon, of whom the Minister accompanied with some others of his tribe, demand if he were willing to take the Coronation Oath, according as it was contained in the eight Act of the first Parliament of King *James* the VI. his Royall Grandfather. The King answered he was most willing. Then was the oath read aloud by *Lyon* king at Armes, in these words.

, Because that the increase of Virtue, &  
' suppressing Idolatry craveth that the  
' *Prince* and people be of one perfect Reli-  
' gion, which of GOD'S mercy is now  
' presently professed within this Realm :  
' Therefore it is statuted and ordained by  
' our Sovereigne Lord, the Lord Regent,  
' and three Estates of this present *Parlia-*  
' *ment*, that all Kings, Princes, and Magist-  
' rates whatsoever, holding their place,  
' which hereafter at any time shall happen  
' to reign & bear rule over this Realm, at  
' the time of their Coronation, and receit  
' of their Princely Authority make their  
faith-

‘ full promise in the presence of the eter-  
‘ nall God. That enduring the whole  
‘ course of their lives, they shall serve the  
‘ same Eternall God, to the utmost of their  
‘ power, according as he hath required in  
‘ his most holy Word, revealed and con-  
‘ tained in the new and old Testaments, &  
‘ according to the same words shall main-  
‘ taine the true Religion of Christ Jesus,  
‘ the preaching of his holy Word, and the  
‘ due and right ministration of the Sacra-  
‘ ments, now received and preached with-  
‘ in this Realm, and shall abolish & gain-  
‘ stand all false Religions contrary to the  
‘ same, and shall rule the people commit-  
‘ ted to their charge according to the will  
‘ & command of God revealed in his fore-  
‘ said Word, and according to the lauda-  
‘ ble Laws and Constitutions received in  
‘ this Realm, no wayes repugnant to the  
‘ said Word of the Eternal GOD, and  
‘ shall procure to the utmost of their pow-  
‘ er, to the *Kirk* of GOD, & whole Chri-  
‘ stian people, true and perfect peace in  
‘ time coming: The rights and rents, with  
‘ all

' all just Priviledges of the Crown of *Scot-*  
 ' *land*, to preserve and keep inviolated,  
 ' neither shall they transfer or alienate the  
 ' the same. They shall forbid and repress  
 ' all in all estates and Degrees, Leases,  
 ' Oppression, and all kind of Wrong in all  
 ' Judgement. They shall command and  
 ' procure that Justice and Equity be  
 ' kept to all Creatures without excep-  
 ' tion, as the Lord and Father of mercies  
 ' be merciful unto them. And out of their  
 ' Lands and Empire they shall be careful  
 ' to root out all Hereticks and enemies to  
 ' the true worship of God, that shall be  
 ' convict by the true *Kirk* of G O D of the  
 ' aforesaid Crimes; & that he shall faith-  
 ' fully affirm the things above written by  
 ' the solemn Oath.

The Oath thus read, the Minister ren-  
 dred it to the King, who kneeling & hold-  
 ing up his right hand, sware thus: By the  
 Eternal and Almighty G O D who liveth  
 and reigneth for ever, I shall observe and  
 keep all that is contained in this Oath.

Then was the King disrobed by the Lo.  
 Cham-

berlain of the Princely Robe, with which he entred the Church, and vested with his Royal Robes; and so supported as before, he removed to the Chair placed on the North side of the *Kirk*, whither the sword was first brought from the table by Sir *William Cockburn* of *Langtown* Gentleman-usher, who delivers it to the great Chamberlain, and he making a short speech, delivers it to his Majesty, by whom it was given into the great Constable's hands and by him girt to the King's side.

Then his Majesty sitting down in the Chair, the spurs are put on him by the Earl Marshall. After which *Archibald Marquesse* of *Argyle* takes the Crown into his hands, and after a short prayer made by the Minister, put it upon his Majesties head,

which done, *Lyon* King at Arms, the great Constable standing by him, called the Nobility one by one, who came all, and kneeling, and touching the Crown upon the Kings head with their right hand, Swore thus: *By the Eternall and Almighty*

mighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall support thee to the uttermost. The obligatory Oath was likewise read to the people, they holding up their hands.

Lastly, after the Earls of Craford & Lindsey had deliver'd his Majesty the Scepter, he returned again to the Stage, where he was installed in the Throne by the Marquess of Argyle; and after a short exhortation of Master Robert Douglass, returned to the Pallas with the Crown upon his head in the same manner as he came.

This is a full relation of the ceremonies performed at his Majesties Coronation at Scone, on the first of January 1650. which I the rather fully insert, because the World may take notice of those hard Covenant Pills which the Kirk-men made him swallow.

Presently after the coronation, the King & Nobles return'd in a most solemn manner to S. Johns town; the Kings Majesty having a guard to attend him, consisting of most Lords and Gentlemens sons, and the Lord Lorne son to the Marquess of

L

Argyle

*Argyle* was made Captaine of it.

And now his Majesty intends with all possible speed the raising of an Army ( for the *Scots* having had all this while no Army on the other side the *Fife* to oppose the *English* proceedings, they had reduc'd all places there under their force, even *Edenbrough* Castle it selfe ) to which effect he orders his Standard to be set up at *Aberdeen*, himselfe nobly resolving to be *Generalissimo* of this army; the other general commands were now given as well to the Royallists as Presbyterians; For Duke *Hamilton* was made Lieut. General of the Army, and *Middleton* Lieut. General of the Horse.

The Levies came in a pace to the general Rendezvouze, which was appointed on the *East* part of *Fife*, whither his Majesty in person went to encourage his Soldiers, whom he found both increasing in their numbers, and much rejoiced at his presence.

The Parliament of *Scotland*, which had adjourned to give time for his Majesties

nation ; being met again , there were strong endeavors of the King , that several Lords of the Royal party should be admitted to their seats in Parliament ; but , the assemblies of the *Kirk* at *Sterling* & *Aberdeen* as strongly oppose it, and shew themselves discontented both at this proposal, and likewise at the new levies , in regard they were there admitted to commands in the Army : as they now desired to have place in Parliament; yet notwithstanding these murmurings, they were upon their reconciliation to the Church ; and passing the stool of Repentance , re-admitted to their places in Parliament ; such were Duke *Hamilton* , the Marquess of *Huntley*, the Earls of *Calendare*, *Crawford*, & others.

But stil not only many of the Ministers (notwithstanding there was a select Committee appointed to examine and punnish such persons who any way confronted and murmured against any designs or acts of State ) rail against these proceedings; but some of the Nobles too are discontented, insomuch that the Earl of *Sutherland* utter-



ly refused to concur with them, and if he could possibly, would have opposed them by force.

And indeed very many or most of the *Presbyterians* were discontented; For the Royal party by the Admission of those Lords and others, was grown stronger then the *Kirk's*, and now bore all the sway; which made the proud *Marquess Argyle* and other *Covenantier* Lords, murmur at: being afraid least in time they should wholly be laid aside, they having already seen one of their party begun with; for the Earl of *Louden* who customarily had the Lord Chancellorship of the Kingdome, was removed from his place, and the Lord *Burleigh* constituted Chancellor in his stead.

Yet on the *Covenanters* side there wanted not some Ministers, such were Mr. *Robert Douglass*, and Mr. *David Dick*, who endeavoured to beget a right understanding in both parties, that these sparks of discontent might not at last burst out into a flame, as 'twas very much feared they

they would ; but rather that in this time of danger they might lay aside all animosities , and unite together against the Common Enemy, who else would be the Ruine of them both.

And now his Maiesty to keep a coredpondency abroad, sends the Earl of *Dumferlin* Ambassador to the *States of Holland*, he had likewise at the same time several other Ambassadors or agents abroad in the courts of several Princes , to require aid ; but never found more, then what fair and sugar'd promises produced

And about this time, Sir *Henry Hide*, being sent ouer to *England* from *Constantinople* (whither he had been sent as Ambassador from his Majesty to the *Grand Seignior*) by Sir *Thomas Bendysb* his means, who was then Ambassador for the republick in *England* ( but yet deem'd a person of more loyalty to his Prince , then to have sent his Ambassador to be murder'd , if he could have avoided it ) after somewhat a formall tryall, he suffered death on a Scaffold before the Royal Exchange in *London* , for  
having

having taken Commissions from his Sovereign.

And not long after him *Captain Brown-Busbell*, who though he had formerly been an enemy to his Majesties father, yet now suffer'd death upon the *Tower-hill London*, for having done some signal services by sea for his present Majesty.

But to return to the Kings affairs in *Scotland*, where the special businesses in hand were, the compleating the Levies to 15000 foot, and 6000 horse, which went on a pace; and the fortifying the town of *Sterling*, which his Majesty intended for the place of his chief residence; to the hastening of the which his Majesty went often in Progress to view the Works, & encourage the Pioneers.

And time it was to hasten those Works, for the English drew every day nigher and nigher towards them having already taken the Fort of *Blackness*, which lay between *Sterling* and *Edenbrough*; which was never theless not accounted so great a loss, as the surprizal of the Earl of *Eglinton* and one  
of

of his Sons by a party of *English* horse at *Dumbarton*; for this Earl was a person of a great deal of power in that Nation, and his taking very much obstructed the going forward of the Levies.

But *Sterling* being almost fortified sufficiently, his Majesty removed his Court hither; where whilst he was, his birth day being the 29 of *May*, was kept through *Scotland*, with such tokens of joy as are usuall upon such occasions; but the town of *Dundee* exceeded all the rest, for besides their equal expressions of joy, they presented his Majesty with a rich Tent, six pieces of Field Ordinance, and set out a Regiment of horse towards his assistance at their own charge.

At *Sterling* likewise were the head Quarters kept; most of the *Scotch* Army Quarters about it, whither *Middleton's* levies from the North being come, and amounting to about 8000 men, it came to be a dispute whether these should be a distinct Army by themselves, or be joined with *Lesley's* Southern levies; but at length it was

was thought most conveniēt to joyn them : and his Majesty to prevent those animosities which might arise between *Middleton* and *Lesley* for the General-ship, tooke upon himselfe the Command of the whole.

From hence his Majesty sent a messenger to the Parliamet still sitting at *S. Johnston's* with these demands.

1. That the Act about the Classis of malignants should be revok'd & disannul'd, and that an Act pass for its repeal.

2. That there may be no more any mention of the name of malignants among them.

3. That Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Seaforth*, and *Callendare*, &c. might have as full commād in the Army as any others.

The demands were strongly debated *pro & con* in the Parliament; the Marquess of *Argyle* and others of the Covenanted strain, endeavouring by all means possible to oppose them; yet at length, though with much difficulty, they were carried in the affirmative, it being urged by the more moderate sort too, that the granting of these would

would be the only way to take away all animosities, between those parties which they intended to unite.

The Parliament having granted these things to his Majesty, & given large commissions & instructions for the compleating of the Levies, about the begining of *June* dissolved, leaving all things ( in relation to civil and intestine distempers in a calm & quiet ) all parties seeming to be pleased, and their actions united towards the opposing of their common Enemy *Cromwell*.

Whilst these things were thus transacted in *Scotland*, a great and terrible plot was discovered against the *Junto* then ruling in *England*, and their government in assistance of his Majesty to his just Rights. This design was chiefly laid by those Presbyterians who had been such dire Opponents of his Majesty's blessed father of happy ( yet unhappy ) memory, viz the greatest part Presbyterian Ministers, who had most of them formerly belcht out such fire-brands from their Pulpits as had set



both Church and State in a combustion ; but now whether out of a reall sence of their Errour ( which I have the charity to believe it was ) they had a desire to return to their Allegiance to his Son their lawfull and native Sovereign; or out of an ambition , by joining with their *Scotish* Brethren ( which I am loath to judge ) to get the Power again into their hands , which was snatch'd from them by the Independent *English* Army , and the *Juncto* of Sectaries in *England* , they had laid a designe to raise both a contribution of money; and levy men for his Majesty's assistance here ; but their Plot was betrayed by the intercepting of Letters in a ship forced by foul weather into *Ayre* in *Scotland* ; but bound with provisions for the *Isle of Man*, whereupon the chief undertakers in *London* were apprehended , viz. Mr. Cook , Mr. Gibbons, Mr. Christopher Love, Mr. Jenkins, D. Drake and others , of which two. viz. Mr. Gibbons and Mr. Love was condemned by a high Court of Justice ; and suffered death on the Tower hill , for that



cause against which they had once so strongly declar'd.

But to return again to the cheif Scene in *Scotland*. The *English* Army had long had a desire to bring the *Scots* to a field battel, which his Majesty upon sundry good reasons & serious advice declin'd; so *Cromwell* endeavoured to the utmost of his power to force them to it, & therefore several times fac'd his Majesty's Army which lay encamped at *Tormood*, within three miles of *Sterling*, but could not yet draw them out of their trenches, the chief reason being imagin'd to proceed from their stay for *Argyle*, *Huntley*, and *Seaforth*, who were gon into their several Territories to compleat the King's Levies.

*Cromwell* perceiving that he could not draw the *Scots* to a field-battel, upon a sudden draws off his Army, and transports sixteen hundred Foot; and foure Troopes of Horse over unto *Fife* on such a sudden, that it startled his Majesties whole Army; And *Cromwell* with an unparallel'd expedition, faces again the Royal Army with a

lution to fall upon their rear if they should attempt a motion thitherwards ; but they offered not to stir , for already order had been given to Sir *Iohn Brown* Governour of *Sterling* to march with four thousand Horse and Foot to drive out that party of *Cromwell's* which were already landed in *Fife* ; of which, intelligence being brought *Lambart* and *Okye* with two Regiments of Horse and two of Foot, are with all possible haste waisted over to reinforce the party already there ; with which additionall supply of men they routed Sir *Iohn Brown*, who expected none but the first landed party, taking himself and several other officers of quality prisoners, and killing two thousand upon the place, and taking near 1200. prisoners: and shortly after *Cromwell* transports most of his Army over the *Fife*, and resolving to stop the passage which the *Scots* had over by *Sterling*, marches to *S. Iohnstons* and takes it almost upon summons.

His Majesty seeing the *English* Army was advanced so far Northward, thought it  
in

in vain to attempt the forcing them back; & knowing that the *Scots* naturally fights better in anothers then in their own Conn-try, resolves to advanc with all possible speed into *England*, where he yet hoped, not withstanding the discovery of the design, to find some Loyal souls to joyn with him for the Recovery of his right and Kingdomes.

Many were there who opposed this intention of his Majesty, and among those Duke *Hamilton* was one of the chiefeſt; whose dislike may ſufficiently appear by his Letter to Mr. *Crofts* after their Advance to this effect;

*We are now laughing, ( ſayes he ) at the rediculouſneſs of our preſent State ; we have quit Scotland being ſcarce able to maintain it: and yet we graſp at all , and nothing but all will ſatiſſie us , or to loſe all. I confeſs I cannot tell whether our hopes or fears are greateſt ? but we have one ſtout argument Deſpair : for we muſt now either ſtoutely fight or dye : all the Rogues have left us, I ſhall not ſay whether out of fear or diſloyalty ; but all now with- his Maſteſty are ſuch as will not diſpute his Commands.*

But

But notwithstanding his dislike: & his & other oppositiōs, yet the Kings resolve takes place, and on *July* the 31. 1651. his Majesties Army began to advance from *Terwood* near *Sterling* steering their course directly for *England*, which they entred six dayes after by way of *Carlisle*; This march of the Royall Army made *Cromwell* with the greatest part of his forces immediately recrosse the *Frith*, and forthwith send Major General *Lambert* with a select party of Horse and Dragoons to fall upon the Rear of his Majesties Army, whilst they hop'd that Major General *Harrison*, then lying neer the borders with about three thousand Horse and Dragoons, would attach them in the Front; shortly after himselfe followed with the rest of the Army which could be spar'd, amounting to about eight compleat Regiments of Foot, and two of Horse.

But then this greater preparation is made against him in *England*, for the *Junto* then sitting at *Westminster*, not onely interdicted all aid or assistance either of  
men

men or moneys, to be given to his Majesty under the penalty of High Treason; but also in all or most of the Countrys had caused a numerous force to be raised, the *Church-Militia* of the City of *London* being likewise sent out against him; and for the present impeading of his march, two thousand of the *Country-Militia* of *Staffordshire*, and four thousand out of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*, under the command of Col. *Birch*, had joyned with *Harrison*.

But besides all this, many of the Royal Army had in their march deserted their colours, & neer a fourth part of the army was wanting; but these were most of them such, as were not very well affected to the business, nor cause they went about; and therefore there was but little miss of them, for the rest of the Army marched on chearfully, and continued to the utmost push stedfast and loyal; & were so contentedly obedient to all Military Discipline, that 'tis believ'd that in al their march through all that part of *England* they hardly took the value of six pence forcibly.

But

But notwithstanding this unwonted civility of the *Scottish* Army, and his Majesties earnest invitations, the Country came very slowly in, whether belotted, dulled and contented with that slavery they then lay under, or over-aw'd by an armed power, I cannot tell, but such was their backwardness, that few or none besides the Lord *Howard* of *Estriche's* son with a Troop of Horse came to him, during his long tedious march through *England*.

Nor did his Majesty with his Army take that course which was expected by most he should; for the great fear of his Enemies, and greatest hopes of his Friends were, that he would march directly for *London*, but he contrary to their expectations, being come into *Lancashire*, struck off at *Warrington*, either doubting the enterprize for *London* too hazardous, or out of the hopes had of the Forces, it was expected Major General *Massey* might raise in *Glostershire* which was the then generally voagu'd reason.

But before his Majesty could pass over  
War-

rington Bridge, he had occasion to try the stoutness of his Souldiers; for there *Harrison* was resolved if possible to stop him, and was endeavouring to that purpose to have broken down the Bridge; but his Majesties forces by a swift march from *Charley*, prevented his design, and forced him to an engagement, The dispute was somewhat hot and long, but at length his Majesty got the better; for he gained a free passage over the Bridge, though with the loss of some men.

This Bridge gained, his Majesty marched on towards the *west*, without any opposition: & indeed with as little assistance or increase of numbers: yet being all along as he came proclaimed King of *Great Britain France and Ireland*, by an *English-man* whom he had created King at Armes.

Being come to *Tong-Norton*, his Majesty sent a Trumpet with his Royall summons to Colonell *Mackworth* Governour of *Shrewsbury*, which ran thus.



C. R.

Col. MACKWORTH,

**B**Eing Desirous to attempt all fair wayes for the recovery of our own, before we proceed to force and extremity, and (where the controversie is with Subjects) accounting that a double Victory which is obtained without effusion of blood, and where the hearts that of right belong to us are gained as well as their strengths. We do hereby summon you to surrender unto us our Town, with the Castle of Shrewsbury as in duty and Allegiance by the Laws of God and the Land you are bound to doe, thereby not onely preventing the mischief which you may otherwise draw upon your self and that place, but also opening the foredoore to peace and quietness, and the enjoyment of every one both King and people, that which pertains to them under certain and known Laws, the end for which we are come. Given at our Campe of Tong-Norton this 20. August 1651.

This summons was accompanied with a Letter from his Majesty exhorting him as he was a Gentleman to return to his du-

ty and Allegiance, upon promises of pardon and reward.

To both which Col. *Mackworth* returned answer thus;

For the Commander in Chief of  
the *Scottish Army*.

S I R,

**B**Y your Trumpeter I received two Papers, the one containing a proposition, and the other a direct Summons for the Rendition of the Town and Castle of Shrewsbury, the Custody whereof I have received by Authority of Parliament; and if you believe me a Gentleman (as you say you do) you may believe I will be faithful to my trust, to the violation whereof neither Allurements can persuade me, nor threatnings of force; especially when but paper ones compell me? what principles I am judged to be of, I know not; but I hope they are such as shall ever declare me honest, and no way differing herein (as I know) from those engaged in the same employment with me; who should they desert that cause they are embarked in, I resolve to be

N 3

fround

*found as I am, unmoveable,*

The faithfull Servant of the  
Commonwealth of *England*.  
*H. Mackworth.*

Thus flat a denyall did his Majesties Royal summons receive here; nor did his Commands to Sir *Thomas Middleton* Governour of *Chirk* Castle in *Flintshire*, for the levying of men for his service, find better success.

But from hence his Majesty directs his course for *Worcester*, where he arrives on the twenty second of *August*, and notwithstanding some resistance made by the Parliaments souldiers, quickly enters by the help of the towns men, who joyfully returned to their Aleigance & Duty; here 'twas again solemnly debated whether they should remain here or march for *London*, and was at length concluded that in regard of the long and tedious marches that the Souldiery had had, it would be much better to tarry hear: that after some  
re-

refreshment they might be able with more vigor and courage to endure the brunt.

The Earl of *Derby* who had some few dayes before his Majesties Arrivall at *Worcester*, brought him a supply of two hundred and fifty foot and sixty Horse, which he had brought with him out of the Isle of *Man*, and was returned back into *Lancashire*, out of hopes that by his influence upon that County he might get a more numerous Force there, having got together a considerable party, was routed by Col. *Lilburn*, who was there with a party to watch his motions; and was first engaged by the Earl, out of a design he had to hinder *Lilburn's* joyning with a Regiment of *Cromwells*; which was sent for the same purpose towards *Manchester*, but the engagers themselves were defeated; & most of the Earls chief Commanders and Gentlemen of note with him taken prisoners, such were the Lord *Witherington*, Sir *Thomas Tilsly*, Sir *William Throgmorton*, Col. *Boynton*, and fundry others.

His Majesty being now at *Worcester* and

re-

solving there to stay and endure the utmost brunt, all preparations possible are made, for the fortifying the place and gaining all advantages possible; to which purpose a Line and several Mounts were quickly raised by the Pioneers, and all passés about the Town and towards it secured.

But Major General *Lambert* on the Republick's side, sending suddenly a party of Horse to discover the difficulty of the passe at *Upton*, ( where Major General *Massey* ( for his Majesty ) lay with a party about 300. Horse and Dragoons) those desperate fellows being not above fifty in number, adventured over upon one piece of Timber, which had been carelessly left, from arch to arch.

And though *Massey's* men took the alarm, yet was *Lambert* so quick in sending over relief to his Souldiers ( whom the Royal party had beleagured in a Church) that the pass was clearly gain'd, & Major General *Massey* forced to retreat ( though as honourably as ever man did ) for himself still brought up the, Rear in which  
service

service (though his Horse was slain under him, and himselfe shot in the arm ) yet he got off with a very inconsiderable loss.

And now *Cromwells* Army began to joyn with all those parties , which had conspired there to ruine his Majesty, whom they accounted already like a bird in a Cage; for this Royall Army consisting (at the most) of not above 10000 fighting men , whereas the Army that then beleagur'd and encompassed them, was one of the greatest that had ( during the whole time of the late War) been rayised in *England*, amounting ( according to common computation ( to some 50. or 60. thousand Horse and Foot , so that (as I have been well informed ) this Army , though in a more sanctified strain brag'd and insulted more over his Majesty , then the *French* Army at *Agincourt* did over the thrice Illustrious King *Henry* 5. Yet notwithstanding their assurance of making him their prize : it pleased God ( though not to give him the success that *Henry* the 5. had) yet to deliver him out of their bloud thirsty hands.

When

When I speak of the Armies insulting over his Majesties misery ; I hope the *Reader* wil understand me in the generality ; for though many and perhaps the major part were glad of these his straits ; yet many noble and candid loyal souls there were , whom nothing but a tyrannicall impulsion could have forced to have born Armes against their lawfull Sovereign. It being well known that thousands were forced out of severall Countreys to serve against their wills , & them too put into the brunt of the battle , as though destined for the slaughter.

But for all these numerous forces which encompassed the Royal Army , they were chearfull & resolved to sell their lives at a noble rate , his Majesty by the Example of his undaunted courage , principally encouraging them : so that many vigorous sallies were made upon their Enemies , & though their supernumeraries forc't them to a retréat , yet was it very seldom and never ignobly.

But now the fatal day draws nigh, a day  
before



before so eminently auspicious to *Cromwell*, and as unfortunate to the *Scots*, viz. the third day of *September*. The fight was occasioned thus, *Cromwell*, *Fleetwood*, & others of the *Republick* party, had, after the gaining the pass at *Upton*, endeavoured to make themselves a clear passage to the City, that their Army might joyn in the League, to which end and purpose they ordered the making of two Bridges, the one over the *Severn*, the other over *Thame*, over the last of which passes Lievt. General *Fleetwood* went to attack the *West* side of the Town, which so allarm'd the Royall Army (who then lay within their League at *St. Jones*) that to prevent their drawing nigher, they sallyed out with the greatest part of their Horse and Foot and a stiff encounter there was, till over powered by numbers more then by valor, which they demonstrated to the utmost of mens strength, they were forced to retire again into the League, leaving more of their Enemies dead bodies in the field then of their own.

But whilst the encounter was on the *west* side of the Town. *Cromwell* having pass't his Army over *Severn*, he march't directly to the Town on that side, whereupon his Majesty in person, and in the head of the Horse, sallied out upon him, and that with so much valour and courage, that *Cromwel's* own life-guard, and the best of his old Souldiers, who were thought almost invincible) were forc't to retire, 'till seconded by those numerous supplies of fresh Souldiers, who served only like the *Turkish Asapi*, to blunt the Royal swords, so that their wearied arms no longer able to hold out, were forced to retreat, and at Length (notwithstanding the generous example of his Majesty who performed things worth wonder) to a disorderly flight, and notwithstanding his Majesties earnest endeavours (in which he had his horse twice shot under him) to bring them again to a rally, yet it proved fruitless, for the *Cromwellian* Army pouring forth their numbers upon them, permitted them not so much time, but following them close

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close at the heels to the Town, towards which they fled, entred pelmel with them.

And now notwithstanding their flight, and the danger of their own lives; yet had they so much care of their soveraign, that the whole cry throughout both Town and Army was nothing else but *Save the King, Save the King*; for him they knew it was that the *Junctoes* army chiefly looked after, & indeed in great danger he was; for notwithstanding the earnest desires of many of his friends, & particularly Duke *Hamilton*, who pressed him to have a care of his safety, & reserve his person to a more fortunateday; yet his Majesty was hardly induced to quit the field, nor would he till he saw all absolutely lost; for *Cromwell's* Army having as I said followed the Royalists into the Town, and got possession of one side of it, and after by two or three strong assaults upon the fort Royal where the *Cheshire* men (never before found so disloyall to their Prince; & therefore found now their due,) who out of three thousand men sacrificed the lives of 1600 to the Ghosts of those

new Royallists which were all put to the sword in it, it was taken by storm; and now when it was almost too late, his Sacred Majesty thought it high time to provide for his safety; and so with some Nobles and Servants not without a great deal of difficulty, (for how could it be otherwise where there was such hard search made for him,) he quit the field, and by the most unfrequented roades that they could possibly find out, rode to the Farmhouse of a noble Gentleman on the borders of *Staffordshire*, where they no sooner arrived but his Majesty disrobed himselfe of his Princely Ornament & accoutrements; and particularly of a Chain of Gold or spannar-string worth three hundred pounds sterling; the Present of a *Scottish* Lord, which he bestow'd upon a Servant of his there present: which done for his farther disguise, he proceeded to the cutting of his hair, and the Cote affording neither shears nor scissars to perform it, it was by the Lord *Wilnot* cut off with a Knife.

And

And now every one is commanded to shift for himselfe, & this poor Prince left alone to the sole protection of the Almighty, he choosing none but one friend to accompany him, with whom he wandered into a Wood, within four miles (say some) of *Wolverhampton*, where finding a hollow Oak, he was now content to make it his Pallas; for here he for some daies concealed himselfe, his Friend still towards night going out to provide him some refreshment during this his solitary confinement.

In the mean time the Lord *Wilnot* who was commanded with the rest to seeke his fortune, was by chance pursued by some Souldiers, but meeting with a Country fellow formerly a Souldier in the old King's Army, he was by him secured though somewhat strangely, for he carries him into a Malt-house belonging to Mrs *Jane Lane*, & having no other convenient place to hide him in, clapt him under the Kilne, though there were then some fire in it, & the Malt smoaking on the top. In the mean time the Souldiers then in pursuit of him, entred  
the

the house, and having made about three quarters of an houres search every where else, but not at all suspecting the Kilne, where they saw the fire they departed, & the Lord *Wilmot* was taken out of the Kilne almost ready to faint with the extreimity of the heat.

The country fellow having thus secured this Lord, acquaints Mrs. *Lane* with what he had done, and she extreemly glad of it, gets him to her house, where in conference she enquires of the Kings safety. The Lord *Wilmot* gives her the former relation of his miseries and distress, which forces tears from the tender hearted Gentlewoman, she earnestly entreats him to take some course for the finding out of his Majestie, and conducting him to her house, she being resolved to venture her life, had she ten thousand, for the saveing of his Royal Majesties.

The Lord *Wilmot* glad of so happy an opportunity to serve his Majesty, and so great a probability of secureing him, the next night finds him out, & conducts him  
from

from the Royal Oak to the House of Mrs. *Jane Lane*, where after a large condoling of his hard fortune, consultation was had for a conveniency for his Escape beyond sea, at length it was concluded, that *Bristoll* would be the most convenient place to take shipping, That his Majesty should ride before Mrs. *Lane* by the name of *William*, servant to Mr. *Lastel* her father in Law, who was likewise to go with them; & thus it was immediately given out, that Mr. *Lastel* and Mrs. *Lane* were to take a journey into the *west*, to visit some friends, and shortly after they set forward.

In this journey there happned many accidents worthy commemoration, and first the Kings Majesty riding now as a servant to one of the faithfullest of his subjects, in a Livery cloak, though not without that respect that durst be given to him; complains to Mrs. *Lane* that the Cloak wearied him, whereupon she desires Mr. *Lastel* to carry it, & long they had not rid so, but they met upon the road her Brother in law, who amongst other questions demanded  
of



of her, if her Father must carry her mans Cloak; to which she readily answered, that it was so big that it often endangered the throwing her off the Horse, and that she had therefore desir'd him to carry it.

The next and most important accident of all was, that coming into a Town which they were to pass through, there was a Troop of horse there to be quartered, drawn up, which at a distance caused some fear, but at length with a resolution they pass'd on, and the Captain taking them for honest Travellers, made his Troop open to the right and left, and so permitted them to pass.

Another accident there hapned, which one may say was almost comical in this Tragedy; Mrs. *Lane* coming into the Inne, leaves his Majesty under the name of *William* her servant, in the Kirchin, with whom the Maid enters into discourse, she asks him where he was born, and what trade he was; he answered at *Brummingham*, & a Naylor's Son; and after a great deal of other discourse, the Jack being down, the Maid

Maid desires him to wind it up ; which he willingly undertakes , but goes the wrong way about it , and somewhat prejudices it ; at which the Maid grew angry, asking him where he was bred , and telling him he was the veryest clownish booby that ever she saw in all her life ; which railing of hers made his Majesty notwithstanding his present misery , go out of the room smiling.

Mrs. *Lane* notwithstanding his Majesty went as her *Servant* , yet had a greater respect for him before others , pretending him her Tennant's son ; but on the Road she would alwayes ask what he would have to dinner or supper ; & what piece of that he liked , which she would always be sure to get made ready , and give him , he still sitting at the lower end of the Table.

But to come to the end of their journey ; being arrived at *Bristol* , they lodged at the house of a noble Gentleman there , and Kinsman to Mr. *Lastles* : the King finding it to be a house of great resort , feigns himselfe sick of an Ague , and so keeps his

ber all the day ; coming down only at nights; but one night coming down, & being somewhat cold, he craves a glaſs of wine of the Butler , This Butler having before ſerved his Maſteſties Father in the Wars, looking earneſtly upon him, ſuſpected him to be the King ; ſo eaſily will Maſteſty appear, though vail'd in the utmoſt diſguiſes; and thereupon pulling off his Hat , told him very ceremoniouſly , That he might command what wine he pleaſed; of which the King tooke no notice , but drinking of his wine went out : Yet the Butler could not ſatistie his ſuſpition , but went up to Mr. *Laſtell's* , and demanded of him how long he had had that ſervant? Whereupon Mr. *Laſtell's* was very angry at his boldneſs in dareing to aſke him ſuch a Queſtion, But the Butler ſtill perſiſted, and whiſpering told him , that he believed it was the King : Whereupon Mr. *Laſtell's* ſeeing he was diſcover'd , ſends immediatly up for his Maſteſty , whom he acquaints with the Butler's diſcovery of him , with whom the King was ſomewhat angry , in regard he

did not first acquaint himself with his suspicion, it not being impossible, but Mr. *Lastles* might not have known him to be the King: but upon pardon asked by the Butler, it was granted him by the King, and he afterwards proved very instrumental in his Majesties conveyance through the Countrey.

But here at *Bristol*; the chief design they had in hand failed them; for though there were a little Bark lay there, judged most convenient for the business; yet the Master would for no reward transport a single person, though he was so honest as only to deny it, and made no farther search or inquiry concerning the Person, which might perhaps have tended to a discovery.

This design here failing, his Majesty desired to be brought some miles westward, to the house of a worthy Gentleman, whom he knew to be a trusty friend; where coming, he findes the Gentleman in the Field with his Servants: having discovered himself to him, he was by him conveyed to a convenient stand till night, (having

first taken leave of his true friends, who had thus far conducted him with the danger of their Lives & Estates) from whence he was in the dusk conveyed into the house, and there carefully concealed for a week, till such time as preparation could be made in some *western* Port of a passage for him; but coming afterwards there where it was provided, chancing to dine with a Parliament Colonel then there, he thought it the safer to lose the benefit of that passage, then adventure to imbarque himself singly, which might breed suspition, & perhaps have been the means after so many deliverances, to have betrayed him into the hands of his Enemies.

This passage then likewise failing him, he returned back to the place from whence he came, & there concealed himself three weeks longer, till in the end it being resolved on, he by the assistance of Mr. Ph. was convey'd through the most by wayes they could imagine, to a Gentlewomans house in *Sussex*, where he lay some few daies, til a person of true worth & honour made

made provision of a faithfull master, who with a small vessel waisted him to a small Creeke in *Normandy*, to the great content of the Kings sacred Majesty, and all his loyal Subjects, and to the honour of the master with due reward, as in time may appear.

Perhaps the reader may think it tedious that I have given so large a relation of his Mjesties escape from the fight at *Wercester*; but it was a work so full of wonder & providence, and so many false relations there are abroad, that I could do no less then recount all those miseries and hardships which this poor Prince endured for the sakes of us his Subjects, and more would he willingly have endured, even death it self, to the redeeming of us from the tyranny and oppression which we then groan'd under.

But let him that shall looke upon the several passages of his, read them over & over, consider the several difficulties he passed, the many dangers he was in to be betrayed, the countrey being up round about,

bout, the summe of mony set upon his head, for which many hundreds out of covetousnes madeit their business to search for him; & they will confesse ingeniously, that God was never so merciful to any people, as to us, in delivering his sacred Majesty so wonderfully out of the hands of his Enemies, who breathed out nothing but his death and destruction, that we may yet have hopes to be a happy Nation.

But let us now returne to give a full account of this dismal loss at *Worcester*, in which most of his Majesties foot were either made a prize, or a sacrifice to their enemies swords; of the horse there escaped 300. out of the field, but were most afterwards either taken or kil'd by the country people in their flight; three thousand were judged slain in the Field, and about seaven thousand taken prisoners; whereof the chief were, the Earles *Derby*, *Lauderdale*, *Cleveland*, *Shrewsburge*, & the Lord *Wentworth*, and many other noble persons taken in the pursuit. And the chief of those taken in the battel were, the Earles of  
*Cran-*



*Carnworth and Kelly*, the Lord *Synclare*, Sir *John Packington*; the Major Generals, *Montgomery* and *Piscotty*; and the *Virgil* of this Age, that thrice worthy Mr. *Richard Fanshawe*, Translator of the renowned *Paster Fido*, and Secretary to his Majesty. As for the thrice noble Duke *Hamilton*, he was taken, but not overcome; overpowred, but not vanquisht. For after having made a most Heroick resistance, he was reduced under his enemies power, more for want of strength then valour: but death entring in at those wounds which he so gallantly received in defence of his Sovereign, soon after released him. Major General *Massey*, though he escaped the field; yet his wounds being desperate, he was forced to surrender himself to the Countess of *Stamford*, &c was by her Son, the Lord *Grey of Grooby*, after the recovery of his wounds, sent up prisoner to the Parliament, and by them committed to the Tower, from whence he not long after escaped, and went to his Majesty beyond sea.

This strange and wonderfull Victory  
(as

(as the *Juncto* at *Westminster* gave it out to be, though they had six to one in the field) made that *Sectarian* party cock-a-hoop; & to make it the greater, publick days of *Thanksgiving* are appointed to make God the patronizer of their villanies, murders, tyrannyes and treasons; and now they boast in all their discourses how clearly it might appear that God owned their cause, and disowned their adversaries.

I think a modern writer hath sufficiently confuted that commonly received tenent of *Politicians*, \* *That successe denotes actions to be either just or unjust*. I shall therefore leave the sober Reader here to satisfy himself, & refer it to him, whether such do not justly deserve *Ovid's* wish:

— *Careat successibus opto,  
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda  
putat.*

Let him for ever in successe be poor;  
That thinks it justifies his cause the more.  
But

But this Nation is so highly sensible of the injustice put upon them by those who pretend so much right in their Cause, that there's no loyal Subject but will thinke according to reason, that it was not the justice of their cause, but our own and the Nations sinnes which caused God to raise up these men as scourges both to Prince & People; & to the prince only for the peoples sake.

Some I have heard, which out of a spirit which I cannot well define, have endeavoured to brand his Royal Majesty with Cowardize in this battel; which from whence it could proceed, unless from their own coward nature, which would insinuate another in that of which themselves are guilty, I cannot imagine; since *Cromwell* the greatest of his Enemies (because the most desirous of his Kingdomes) yet had so much of truth in him, as to give a high and noble Character of his valour.

But to proceed, we have now said enough of this fatall battel, the seeming ruine of the Royal Interest in *England*, unless God

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of

of his mercy be pleased to restore it for the good, peace and quiet of these Nations, since without it we cannot hope to enjoy any.

His sacred Majesty being landed in *France* near *Havre de Grace*; from thence with a Noble Lord in his Company, posted directly for *Roan*, where they stayed to alter their disguises, and furnish them with habits answerable to their qualities; his Majesty from thence having dispatch'd Letters to the *French* Court to acquaint his friends there of his safe Arrival, which doubtless caused no little joy in those who were real to him, and almost despaired ever again to have seen him. The Duke of *Orleans* sends his own Coach to fetch him, and several persons of quality go to meet him; by whom he was attended to *Paris*, and there received with all possible expressions of joy, lodgings and attendants being forthwith provided for him in the *Louvre*; where, at his first arrival he was visited by the Queen his Mother, & the Duke of *Orleans*, who of all persons in the King-

dome exprest himfelfe the moſt ready to do him ſervice; and the next day viſits him again, accompanied with his Daughter *Madamoifelle*. he is likewiſe courted by the Dukes of *Beaufort*, *Langueville*. *Guize*, the Marshall *Thurine*, and many other Peers & Nobles of *France*, who all congratulate his ſafe deliverance.

And now his Maſteſty having loſt all hopes of any furthermeans of attaining his Dominions by force, leads here a retired life; yet living in regard of his high alliance and extraction, in great eſteem with all the *French* Nobility: Inſomuch that notwithstanding his preſent low condition, there was very great talk of a match to be made up between him & the *Madamoifelle de Orlians*, the richeſt princeſs in *Chriſtendome*; yet by ſome means or other it came to no effect, though the Queen of *England* his Mother, was an earneſt promoter of it, and alſo the Duke of *York* to *Longueville's* Daughter.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting; hapned that lately reconciled Fracture be-

tween the Prince of *Conde* and Cardinal *Mazarine*, most of the Prince of the Bloud siding with the first ; & the King of *France* ( who was newly declared of age to sway the Scepter himselfe ) with the last. The cause of the quarrel was that extravagant power which *Mazarine* a stranger had usurped in the government of the Kingdome, both depriving the Princes of the bloud of their Right , and oppressing the people; whose daily murmurings more encouraged the Princes against him: this power he had got into his hands in the Regency of the Queen Mother, whose grand Favourite he only was.

The Princes therefore, though they could not dureing her Regency who so much loved him, yet hoped they might effect something now the King himselfe is come to govern ; to which intent they charge him with several miscarriages of State, which the Cardinal defends , & the King also enclines to his side by the instigation of the Queen his Mother ; yet nothing but the Cardinals banishment will satisfie

He the Princes, who join the Duke of *Lorraine* to them, then in the service of the *Spaniard*, with an Army of ten thousand men; so that they intend with his assistance (if they could not obtain their desires by fair means) to have forc't it.

Thus these differences were arrived to such a height, that nothing but a Civil war was like to ensue; which made his Sacred Majesty of *England* use his utmost endeavours to compose & stay this breach before it came to an utter overflow; to which effect he dayly went to & fro betwixt the King & the Princes; endeavouring to bring them to a reconciliatiō, urging by his own example the miseries and calamities that must necessarily fall upon every mans head by a Civil War, telling the King that the late example of his Royall Father of happy memory, might be an inducement to him to be at peace with his Subjects, rather then embroil his Kingdomes in a bloody war, by which though he might for the present gaine the better; yet in the end he would stil be sure to have the worse.

Yet



Yet these Arguments, and his Majesties earnest endeavours for peace and reconciliatiō, produced nothing, but only contracted an unjust *odium* upon him from both parties for his good will; the Princes believing that he counselled the King against them, and the *Cardinal* against him: So that he lost the love of both by endeavouring to mak them love one another; yet notwithstanding the ill successe he had, this Noble Prince still pursues his pacifick intentions, til such time as he gains a conference between the King *Cardinal* & Princes; but this proves ineffectuall; For the Princes heightned with the aid they expected from the Duke of *Lorain*, instead of coming to an accord, only exasperate differences.

Yet his Sacred Majesty ceases not, but endeavours to bring them yet to a peaceable compliance; & in order threunto procures another Conference, where he himself would be Moderatour; but this proves as ineffectuall as the former; For the Prince of *Conde* was above all others outrageous, and

and would come to no agreement, except *Mazarine* were first banished *France*, and the *French* King as violently persisted in his resolution against it, alledging, *That he had approved himself both a faithfull servant, and an able Minister of State.* So instead of agreement, both sides prepare for War, yet are both sides equally angry, & exasperated against his sacred Majesty for his good will toward them and the Nation, the one and other party imagining that both he and his Mother had given counsels opposite to their designs.

But that which above all exasperated the Princes against his Majesty of *England*, was the sudden luke-warmness of the Duke of *Lorain* in the business. For though he had drawn off his Army, as though he had complied with their resolutions to come to a battel; yet being sent for by the Princes to advance towards *Paris*, he refused to come; which made the Princes believe there had been some underhand dealing with him; and that which most of all increased their jealousies that King *Charles* had

had a hand in it, was this; The Duke of *Beaufort* coming to the Camp of *Lorain* to desire him in the name of the Princes to come up and fight, found there his Majesty & his brother the Duke of *York* in private conference with *Lorain*, who withdrawing when *Beaufort* appeared; & *Beaufort* finding the Duke's aversness to the enterprize confirmed him, and he confirmed the Princes of the King of *England's* endeavours, whereby he had withdrawn *Lorain* from their party: This coming to the peoples ears who were absolute favourers of the Princes, and inveterate enemies to *Mazarine*, so extreemly incensed them against the *English* Princes, that they threaten violence and indignities to their persons, & are not afraid to affront the Queen their Mother in her Coach; which made his Majesty to avoid the popular fury, retire himself from the *LoVvre* to *St. Germane*.

Nor is the *Cardinal* less incensed, though under a more politic vail; For though both Princes and People might imagine & believe that his Majesty had counsel'd things

things opposite to their intentions, yet the *Cardinal* very well knew that he had advised the King as the best course, to consent to his departure out of the Kingdome; and that if he had endeavoured to draw *Lorain* from their party, 'twas only out of a desire he had to expedite their agreement; he therefore resolves to thwart him in all his designs.

And so he did to the utmost of his endeavours: For his Majesty though suspected by the Prince, in his several conferences with *Lorain* to have endeavoured to divert him from them, was only transacting with him for the recovery of his Kingdome of *Ireland* out of the hands of the *English* Republick; to which effect several Articles were drawn up between the Duke of *Lorain*, and the Lord *Taaff*; two of which were: 1. That the Duke of *Lorain* should transport an Army of 10000. men at his own charge into *Ireland*, there to joyn with such as should be found Loyal, for the Recovery of his Majesties Rights in that Kingdom.

2. That the Duke of *Lorain* should by his

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*Majesty be invested with the power and Title of Protector Royall of Ireland.*

These Articles though drawn up, never came to be signed; the cause of which some have imagined to be the disability of the Duke to performe the Enterprise without the Aid of some other Prince; but we may in more reason guess, it proceeded from the strenuous endeavours of *Mazarine* (his Majesties so lately made-enemy) to divert the Duke's Army, then from any other cause.

Many in *England* upon hearing of these Propositions made to the Duke of *Lorain*, (which I must confess some believe to have never proceeded any farther then discourse of the Duks) feared his Majesties too great inclination to the *Romish* Religion, which fear his after retirement at *St. Germain's*, convinced there was no need of: For here he spent his time wholly in Piety and Devotions, according to the best worship of the Church of *England*, never forgetting to pray for those his Enemies who were not only content to have deprived him of his

doms, but continually belched forth both slanders and maledictions against him.

His Majesty having staid at *S. Germain's* till such time as the heate of the popular fury was over, which decreased still towards them as they found *Mazarine* more averse to him, returned again to the *Louvre*; where during his abode, his brother the Duke of *Gloucester* (who had a long time been detained by the *Juncto* of *England* in the Isle of *Wight*, and was lately permitted by them to go to his Sister the Princess Royal in *Holland*, came to him accompanied from the *Hague* by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sir *Richard Greenville*; he was at his arrivall at *Paris* honourably received by the King of *France*, and Queen Mother; and courted according to his birth by the rest of the *Grande'es* and *Peers* of the Kingdome.

Likewise during his Majesties abode here, arrived his *Quondam* Preserver Mrs. *Jane Lane*, who after she had taken leave of his Majesty at *Bristol*, return'd home; and lived for some space in a great deal of

security, not doubting she could be betray'd : Yet at length by what means I know not, (though indeed I have heard of many relations that I dare not relate any) it came to light; yet she had some timely notice of it, whereupon she who had formerly disguised his Majesty in a Serving-mans habit, now disguises her self in that of a Country *Wench*; and trots on foot (to save her life which she was like to lose for having formerly saved his sacred Majesties,) quite crosse the Countrey to *Tarmouth*, where she found shipping which conveyed her safe into *France*; great search after her departure there was made for her but in vain; which so incensed the Soldiers that they burnt down to the ground that poor Cottage where his Majesty first took shelter after his escape from *Worcester*.

She being arrived in *France*, sends a Letter to the Court, whereupon his Majesty almost over-joy'd at her Escape who had been the cause of his, immediatly sends some persons of quality in Coaches to conduct her to *Paris*, whither he being near  
come,



come himself with the Queen his Mother, the Duke of York, Gloucester, went out to meet this Preserver of the life of their Son, Sovereign and Brother; the Coaches meeting, and she being descended from her Coach, his Majesty likewise descends, & taking her by the hand, salutes her with this gratefull expression, *welcome my life*, & so putting her into his own Coach, conducts her to Paris, where she was entertained with the applause and wonder of the whole Court: and she could indeed deserve no less; for I believe neither past or future Ages can or will ever parallell so great a pattern of female Loyalty and Generosity.

Whilst his Majesty was thus passing away his time in France, more in contemplation then action, Oliver Cromwell made General of all the *Juncto's* Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, finding now a fit opportunity to put his long-laid ambitious designs in execution, had dissolved that *Juncto* which had usurped the Kingly power or more, over England, and taken upon himself (though not the title) yet the

the Royall power and authority over these Nations, which the people, though unwilling, yet were forced to submit to; & though he had not at first any *basis* whereon to ground his new usurped Regality; yet in stead of one *Juncto* he pluckt down, he easily sets up another, which I may the more justly call so, in regard there was not one of them chosen by the free Votes of the People, but by his own arbitrary Election, and those such persons who knew well enough what they had to doe before they met: these after a short time sitting (without doing any thing besides the making of some impertinent laws which were forceably imposed on the people) surrender their power (as dying men do their souls to God) into his hands that gave it, who by the help of the Officers of the Army, and *Lamberts* instrument, makes himself immediatly king of *England, Scotland* and *Ireland* (which government he had often sworn against) though under the title of *Protector*.

This (I must needs say) Noble Tyrant,  
having

having got the Dominion of three such Kingdoms into his possession, made it now as much his study to preserve himself safe in his Estate and *Grandure*, as he did before to acquire it; to which purpose he thought it most suitable to that design, to make some remarkable disturbance amongst the neighbouring Princes; then to continue that War (begun by the *Juncto* of *Parliament*) with the *Dutch*, to which purpose severall motions of a Treaty passed.

His sacred Majesty, though he had sundry times before solicited the assistance of those United Provinces for the regaining of his Right in his Kingdoms, now more earnestly upon secret intelligence of the first motions of this Treaty, sends the Lord *Gerard* his Embassadour to the United States more earnestly intreating them to own his Interest then before, proffering, that if they would set out a good squadron of ships under his Flag, he would command them himself in person.

His Sister, the princess of *Orange* and other

ther of his friends in the Low Countries, addicted to his Interest, earnestly prosecutes his desires, and use their utmost influence on the States of the United provinces for the performance of his propositions. Nor are there five of these Provinces, nor *Van Trump* himself their Admiral unwilling to comply with him. Only the Province of *Holland*, the most potent at sea, stands out, chiefly out of the disgust they had lately taken to the family of *Orange*, whose interest and command they were fearfull might bee restored, should his Majesty, who was Uncle to the young Prince, be invested in his Territories.

His Majesty likewise to advance his hopes of their assistance, when Monsieur *Bortell* came from those United States to negotiate a League with the King of *France*, used his utmost Interest to promote the Treaty, and in fine, brought it to a desired period; notwithstanding the United States sent no other answer to his Embassey then a cold Letter of Complements.

His designs thus failing him here, he directed

directed himself to a more hopefull course, by interposing himself a Mediator with the *Pope* and other *Catholick* Princes for an accord and peace between the two mighty Crowns of *France* and *Spain*. And indeed two such potent *Monarchs* had been in better capacity with their joynt forces to have assisted him ( had the peace gon forward, as there was great hopes ) then the United States of the *Netherlands* ; but Cardinal *Mazarine* by a piece of secret state-policy, endeavoured to obstruct all proceedings which might tend to a Treaty or accord.

Nor was this Cardinal's spleen to his Royall Majesty yet allayed ; for his supposed Council against him in the fore-mentioned difference between the King & Princes ; but farther to prejudice him and his affairs , he endeavours the promotion of a peace between the *Protector* of *England* and the *French* King his Master , which, though opposed by all the force and Interest that either himselfe or the Queen his Mother had in the *French* Court ; yet was by the Cardinall ( whose will was a law,

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all other Government in that Kingdome being but a meer shadow) vigorously carried on, and an Embassadour sent over to treat of an accord: where having been sometime in *England*, his Majesty was by secret intelligence informed that the chief Article insisted upon in the Treaty (by the *Protector* of *England*) was the excluding himself, relations and followers out of the Kingdome of *France* and it's Territories; wherefore least the treaty should be suddenly concluded upon those terms, & he ceremoniously excluded, he thought it more honourable himself to leave that Kingdome of his own accord; and having taken his leave of the King of *France*, and the rest of the Nobility accompanied with his Cousin Prince Rupert, he departed for *Germany*, where the Lord *Wilmot* had long been Embassadour for him to sollicite aid and assistance.

Yet notwithstanding his Brothers, the Duke of *York* and *Glocester*, staid still in *France*. The first having under the Command of the Marshall of *Turine* against the

*Spaniards* performed such eminent services as had made him deservedly esteemed a most valerous and prudent Prince; in so much that notwithstanding his Youth he was made Lieu. Generall of the *French* Army, and thought so well worthy that Command, that when *Turine* (the most esteemed Generall the *French* have for a long time had) lay desperately sick, and it was expected that he should breath his last; he was by the King of *France* sent to, to desire him, that seeing there were so little hopes of his life he would nominate such a Generall of his Army as he might judge fit to succeed him. To which *Turine* answered; that if his Majesty would have his affairs prosper, he should make choice of a Noble, Valorous; and fortunate Generall; which if he did, he could make choice of no fitter person then the thrice Heroick Duke of *York*.

As for his Brother the Duke of *Glocester*, he remained at the Palace Royall in *Paris* with the Queen his Mother; who shortly after the departure of his Royall Majesty



Majesty, endeavoured by all the bonds of filiall obedience and the most prevailing Arguments could be used, to perswade him to become Roman Catholick: (nor did she alone) but the Queen Mother of *France*, and the prime Nobility of that Kingdome, attempt the same: when the Reticorique of the Court could not prevail, the most eminent for learning set upon him with that depth of reason, as long acquired study and their own interest, could oblige them to use, or furnish them withall: nor were Arguments and Reasons only used, but the highest temptations this world could present, to a Prince in adversity; such were a Cardinals Hatt, and a Revenue suitable to his Dignity: when these could not prevail, the indignation of a Royal Mother was poured forth upon him, which wrought him the deprivation of his Tutor, his Servants, and all Comforters in these temptations: But that Noble Prince was so far indowed (dureing this affliction) with the Principles of the Religion of the Church of *England*, besides that natural

turall piety and constancy, flowing from his most religious Father of blessed Memory, that by the depth of truth and Reason, he defended himselfe against these attempts. After this he is committed to the care of one Mr *Walter Montague* Abbot of *Nantueil* living at *Pontoise*, who keeps him in very closely, and works, and persists still in endeavouring to pervert him, using the Argument of Duty and Obedience to his Mothers Commands, which she did enjoin him to doe or never more to see her face, (which from that day to this he hath not seen.) This noble soul replied with a sorrowfull heart, *That as the Queens Majesty was his Mother, he ought her duty; but as his Brother was his King and Sovereign, he ought him duty and Allegiance, which he could not dispute.* Whilst he is at *Pontoise* the most noble and religious Lord *Hatton*, takes occasion to go wait upon the Duke, according to private instructions received from his Majesty (who to his great sorrow had advise of these particulers) he is admitted with much trouble to the presence  
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of the Duke , who embraces him as his Deliverer, and with some difficulty , urging the Commands of his Majesty , & his own arguments; he is delivered to his care, who conducts him with a special respect and diligence to his house in *Paris* , where he is entertained divers dayes with all honour , and confirmed with all diligence , by that Learned Lord , in his so well imbued Principles , untill the arrivall of the Marquess of *Ormond* , who by the Kings Command, receives, and conducts him to his Majesties Court.

His Majesty in his journey towards *Germany* came first to *Catillon* a Castle belonging to the Prince of *Conde* , whither he was accompanied by his Brother the Duke of *York* , and his Cousins prince *Rupert* and *Edward* , Palatines; here Prince *Edward* & the Duke of *York* left them ; the one going to *Bourbon* , the other returning to the Army: ( where he continued a good while after ) his Majesty & Prince *Rupert* continued for some few daies their journey together, 'till the Prince parted from him to go visit his Brother

Brother *Frederick* at *Hidelberg*; his Majesty passing through *Cambray* and *Leige* to the *Spaw*; where he tooke up the first place of his Residence in *Germany*, whither his Sister the Royall Princess of *Orange* came to visit him; and they no doubt during the time of their being there, were as merry as two such afflicted Princes could.

But let us a little leave his Majesty at the *Spaw*, and look into his Kingdomes, where *Cromwell* that he might secure himself, in his ill-gotten Estate, endeavours by all means possible either to take away the lives or wholly impoverish & disable his Majesties loyall Subjects; who are continually charged with something, which he by his usurped power takes hold of to destroy them: severall persons are apprehended and charged with a design to have seized on the Tower, and Proclaimed his Majesty King of those Kingdoms which by right were his: for tryall of which persons, a High Court of Justice, (a thing we now in *England* know very well) was erected for the tryal of those persons;  
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Col. *John Gerard*, Mr. *Peter Vowell*, and *Sommerſet Fox* were condemned to be hanged, drawn, & quartered: (for no leſs then high Treason for-ſooth, though there were then no Act in being making it Treason to conſpire againſt the power then in being in *England*) but ſomewhat of the ſentence was remitted, Col. *Gerard* was beheaded, Mr. *Vowell* only Hanged, & Mr. *Fox* reprimed.

I have alwayes obſerved that in all the tryals made by thoſe high Courts of Juſtice for plots (as they call them) there hath ſtill been ſome one perſon, who though brought to tryal, have either not been condemned though look't upon by the people as eminent in the buſineſs as any) and though condemned, yet have been reprimed; what others gueſs of it, I will not determine, I know what I do.

The truth is, that his Maſteſty had alwayes the ill fortune to have ſuch falſe ſervants about him as have for the Lucre of money either betrayed any enterprize of his for the gaining of his right, (the Protector eſpecially being very prodigal in ſuch

such expences : his intelligence as most affirm, standing him in no less then two hundred thousand pound *per annum*) or else those persons engag'd for him, being many of them devious fellows, ( and who often ran upon designs uncommissioned ) have in a Tavern both lay'd and betray'd their own undertakings; or else some here in *England*, who have undertaken in such businesses, have either for fear or gain betrayed both their Prince friends and Countrey.

Thus much for *England*; let us now take a view of his Majesties affaires in *Scotland*; which Kingdome was not yet wholly conquered, for the Lord : *Seaforth, Atholl, Glencarne, Kenmore, and Glengary*, and severall others who had some of them been formerly followers of the noble Marquess of *Montrose*, by Commissions to the Earle of *Glencarne* had levied sundry small parties in their severall Territories ; which all joyned, would have made up a considerable Army, besides the help which they expected *Middleton* should bring them out of the *Low-Countries* they therefore made

all possible speed to joyn; but in their march the Earl of *Glencarne* is set upon by Col. *Morgan*, his party routed, himselfe hardly escaping.

This defeat of *Glancarn's* who was the chief, though it discouraged the rest, yet made them not wholly desist; for they had yet hopes of those supplies which they expected *Middleton* to bring out of the Low-Countries, who at length arrives & brings with him *Monroe* to be his Lieu. General, he being Commissionated General, which highly displeased *Glancarne*, who had been the greatest instrument of his Armies raising (which was now joyn'd and made up a considerable body) who protested that he would not raise an Army for others to Command, so high a dispute there was between *Glancarne* and *Monroe*; in somuch that many affirm, though som say the contrary, that it came to a Duell, in which *Monroe* was worsted & disarmed by *Glancarne*; however the dissention still continues, for *Middleton* pretended that he had not power to tak away *Monro's* Commis-



sion which was given him by his Majesty, and *Glancârne* scorning to be under him, being of Noble blood, & accounting himself as good a Souldier, deserts the Army with five hundred Horse in his company, and goes in to General *Monck* with whom he makes his Composition.

Yet notwithstanding his desertion (caused by those differences amongst them selves for Superiority, the only way to ruine any designe) *Middleton* pursues his businesse and Commission; and had made up a pritty Considerable Number, when General *Monck* engaging him at *Laugherry* after a hot dispute totally routed him, scattered his party and had almost taken himself Prisoner, but he escaping returned again into *Holland*.

Thus his Majesties ill fortune still attends his affaires, God still permitting his Enemies to taper up in the World & advance themselves, not that he in the want of us, but that we in the want of so Noble a Prince might be yet farther Miserable.

But let us return again to his Majesty at

the *Span* where he having staid a while, courted by all the adjacent *Grande*es. at length takes his journey in company of the Princess Royall his Sister towards *Colen*, where being arrived, they were recieved with all possible honour and demonstrations of joy & affection, the great Guns discharging at their entrance, and the *Deputies* of the City coming out to meet them in solemn maner, and conducting them in great pomp to the pallas provided for them by the chief Magistrate of the City.

Shortly after their Arrivall, the *Grande*es of the Place entertain'd his Majesty and his Royall Sister at a sumptuous Banquet or Collation, where they express in many ceremonious complements, the high resentment they had of his Majesties condition, and the great honour which he did them, in being pleased to come and visit their City.

After a short time of abode here, his Majesty was invited by the Duke of *Newburgh* to his pallace at *Donzell-dorf*, where he & his Sister were most sumptuously & Royally

ally entertained for some dayes ; and here the Royall Princes took her leave of her Brother his sacred Majesty , and returned for *Holland* , the King accompanying her on her way as far as *Redinguen* , and from thence returned back again to *Colen* , where he was joyfully receiv'd.

And now more of his Majesties loyal Subjects are put to wrack in *England* by tyrannizing *Cromwell* ; a generall design must needs be laid over all *England* , and perhaps might be so , though *Cromwell* Knew it well enough before it was like to take any effect , which appeared by his setting the *London Militia* in the hands of his own *Criado's* , his apprehending of Sir *Henry Littleton* , Sir *John Packington* , and many other of the Royall party ; yet he lets it still go on , that he might have the better colour for keeping his Scaffold in use ; whilst he having certain Intelligence of all proceedings from his hired Agents , had care to prevent them when they just came to the height , that he might then lay the surer hold on the undertakers : so now , though he was  
sure

fure to prevent all rifings which might be  
 near *London*, yet he lets others in the Coun-  
 tries more remote to go on fo farre, as they  
 might only raife to a head, but not have  
 any fecure place of ftrength to retreat to,  
 in cafe of a defeat, where they might a-  
 gain have made a head. The furprizal of  
*Shrewflerry* and *Chirk* Castles are to that  
 effect now prevented. But a party in *Dor-*  
*set* and *Wiltshier* made a body, confifting  
 moft of Gentlemen who furprized *Saliz-*  
*bury*, took away all the Horfes, and Mar-  
 ched towards *Cornwall*, where they expe-  
 cted a greater force to rife with them;  
 but being eagerly purfued by Captain  
*Crook* with a party of Horfe, were over-  
 taken at *Southmolton* in *Devonfhire*, and af-  
 ter a hot difpute, moft of them either flain  
 or taken; but Sir *Joseph Wagftaffe*, the chief  
 Commander of this fmall loyal party e-  
 fcaped. The Captains, *Pennraddock*, *Grove*  
 and *Jones* were taken, and afterwards be-  
 ing tri'd by a Commiffion of *Oyer & Termi-*  
*ner*, were condemned to death: Captaine  
*Jones* was reprived, but *Grove & Pennrud-*  
*dock*

*dock* were beheaded at *Exeter*, The last of which parted nobly with his life, and died with a resolution, worthy of the cause for which he suffered. Many others likewise were hanged for his enterprize.

Yet these and their fellows might have come off better, had the Countries as they promised, risen to their assistance; for all the Countries in *England* had designed (as they say) to rise; but whether besotted, dull'd and fearful, or else prevented by a force upon them, I cannot tell; but sure I am they fail'd. Yet in *Torkshire* there were two parties up in severall places, but dissipated by their own feares; at *Hexam Moor* the Gentry in that *shire* had a *Rendezvous*, of whom Sir *Henry Slingsby* was taken, and remained prisoner in *Hull*, till such time as he was brought up to *London*, where he suffered death under pretence of another design; as shall in due time be declared.

But now the *Protector* findes another course to rid himselfe of all such *English* men as were loyall to their King & Countrey.

they. Several of those who were active in the late design and had been taken, are out of the Prisons hurried aboard ships; and though they were free-born *English* men, and many of them Gentlemen, sent to be Slaves in the Forraign Plantations; nor were they alone served so, but many who though they had not actually stir'd, yet being by the Protector known as persons not very well affected to his Tyrannicall Government, were privately taken out of their houses and shipt away in like manner; it not being enough for him when he had impoverished them by taking away their Estates to look upon, and insult on their misery at home, but to make them as much as in him lay the scorne and derision of the world, by selling them to those Plantations (a punishment inflicted usually on none but thieves and vagabonds.) Yet I hope those Noble soules who were thus dealt withall, account those miseries and hardships they have endured but little in respect of the cause for which they suffered them.

**But**

But to return to our Princes abroad. The Duke of *Glocester* in his journey from *Paris* with the Marquess of *Ormond* touched at the *Hague*, where he found his Sister newly returned from her journey with his Majesty; and having staid with her some time there, she accompanied him to visit their Brother the King, again at *Colen*, with whom she staid till after the fair at *Frankford*, whither his Majesty accompanied with his Royal Sister, the Duke of *Glocester*, the Marquess of *Ormond*, the Earle of *Norwich*, the Lord *Newburg*, and several Ladies and persons of Quality went in progress; part of the way they went by Land, and the other part by water; being complemented in all Princes countries through which they passed, by their chief Ministers of State, and saluted with the great Guns from their Towns & Castles, but particularly being come into the Territories of the Elector of *Mentz* they were saluted by his grand Marshall, who in the name of his Master the Elector, invited his Majesty the Princess Royall & the Duke of *Glo-*



cester to his Court ; but in regard that the intent of their progress was to see that renowned Fair at *Franckford* which now drew nigh, his Majesty sent the Lord *Newburgh* back with the grand Marshal, returning thanks to the Elector for his civilities; but desiring to be excused till their return, when his Majesty with his Royal Sister & Brother would not Faile to come, and give him thanks in person, and so his Majesty with his Noble company continued their journey.

Being arrived at *Frankford*, advice was brought to his Majesty that the Queen of *Swethland* ( who had some time before Voluntarily surrendered her Kingdom into the hands of *Carolus Gustavus* her Kinsman ) was passing that way in her intended Journey for *Italy*, whereupon his Majesty sent a Noble Lord to acquaint her Royall Highness the Queen *Christina*, that he was ready to wait upon her at what place soever she should be pleased to appoint for an interview ; her Majesty received the message with a great deal of affection, telling

the Messenger That she was highly obliged to his Majesty of *England* for so great an honour , and that if he pleased , she would not fail to meet him at *Conningstein* a village not far from *Frankford* where his Majesty for the time resided.

And accordingly there these two Potentates, ( both equally deprived of their Kingdomes, only with this distinction, the one Voluntary, the other by force and Tyranny ) met ; the Queen of *Sweden* being there, first attended his Majesty: & he being come , was immediately admitted in a room there purposely provided ; and having had neer halfe an hours private discourse with her , the Duke of *Glocester* was admitted , and presently after the Lords that attended his Majesty; there passing between their two Majesties many ceremonious complements; & so after a little longer discourse they took their leaves. The Princessse Royal being a little indisposed went not to this interview.

His Majesty having tarried at *Frankford* as long as seem'd convenient to that

Royall Company, in his departure thence according to the promise he had before made by the Lord *Newburgh* ; passed through the Elector of *Mentz* his Country, resolving to give him a visit , but that Noble Prince had so much of honour in him that he met his Majesty a great part of the way , and conducted him with his Royall Company to a Pallace of his , where he sumptuously entertained them for three or four dayes ; and then himself in person accompanied them a good part of their way to *Colen* , from whence shortly after his Majesties arrival there, the Princess Royal departed for *Holland*.

In the mean time the Protector of *England*, having made a peace with the *Hollander*, fearing that the Nation should grow rebellious to him, if they lay free from wars, which would fill their purses ; resolves to keep them low , at a diet ; to which effect he begins a war with *Spain* , at first in his Western Territories , but soon after ( that business not succeeding ) in his *European Quarters* , which made *Mazarine* with all  
hast

hast possible endeavour the concluding the League Offensive and Defensive with the Protector, which being by him considered to be as beneficiall for his own interest as for the *French*, was easily and willingly assented to; but the chief Articles of this Peace was that his Majesty, the Duke of *York* and *Glocester* with all their relations and friends should be expelled out of, and no more admitted into the Kingdom of *France*.

Certainly had the *French* King had but the least touch or sense of honour, he would have counted this the hardest condition in the world, or indeed he would never at all have treated with the protector, but that he should yeild to such a condition, as to banish out of his Kingdome those who came to him for succour and relief in the utmost extreamity that ever Princes were put too, and these too his nearest relations, being Brothers & Sisters children: And this to make a league offensive with him who had murdered, their Father, & expelled them out of their Dominions.

minions. What was this? but the owning of that murder, and aggravating their oppressions instead of relieving them. But neither honour nor relation can stand in competition with self-Interest.

His Majesty had before fore-saw what the event of this treaty would be, and had therefore wisely withdrawn himselfe from *France* to prevent a complemental expulsion. But the Duke of *York*, who in regard of the great command which he had in the Army, had staid there til the conclusion of the League, was now warned to depart with all his retinue (consisting of a gallant number of young *English* gentlemen bred up under his valour & conduct) notwithstanding those many great services which he had performed for that Kingdom, in requitall of which he had only a complemental Apology made him for the necessity of his departure, and a small time respired for his stay, during which he was visited by the Duke of *Modena*, then in *France*, and other *French* Grandees; but more especially by the Marshal of *Turine*, who extreamly

ly loved him and above all others expressed a sorrow for his dismissal ; but at length the day prefixed being come, his grace having solemnly taken his leave of the King of *France* , the Queen his Mother , & the rest of his Friends at the French Court, he takes his journey towards *Flanders* , accompanied by the Earl of *Yarmouth* , & severall other *English* Lords.

For upon the rupture of the Peace between *Oliver Cromwell* and the King of *Spain* , *Don John de Austria* , Governour Royall of the Low Countries, for his Catholick Majesty ( commiserating our Kings unfortunate Condition, now that his Interest might stand them in some stead ) had sent the Count *D' Fuensaldaigne* , his Embassadour to his Majesty of Great *Britain* , then resident ( as I said before ) at *Colen* , inviting him into the Low Countries, and assuring him in the name of his Catholick Majesty all possible service and assistance : which invitation his Majesty graciously accepted, and soon after took his journey from *Colen* towards *Flanders* , & being come to *Bruges* ,  
the

the place appointed for his reception, he was received with all honours imaginable, and conducted to a Pallace purposely provided for him, where he hath for the most part ever since remained.

Hither the Duke of *York* came, accompanied as aforesaid, having first in his way touched at *Brussels*, where he was magnificently entertained, and complemented by *Don John*, to whom he freely proferd his service in the Wars, which was accepted with a great deal of thanks; and though he had not at first a command given him correspondent to that which he left in the *French Army*, yet was his prudence, courage, valour, & conduct in no less respect, as afterwards by the *Spaniards* esteem of him appeared. From thence he went to wait on his Majesty at *Bruges*, where he was received with an affection correspondent to the near Alliance with his sacred Majesty.

Before his Majesties departure from *Colen*, there hapned a discovery of one of those persons, who under pretence of waiting



waiting upon him. ( Captain *Manning* by name) discovered unto the Protector all his Designs and Counsels, who being found out was by his Majesties Command sent to a strong Castle adjacent to *Colen*, there to be kept close prisoner: But all the Court being highly incensed against him for his perfidiousness, one of his Majesties Servants ( though contrary to order) pistol'd him as he was lighting out of the Coach at the Castle gate, giving him less then the due reward of his so abominable treachery.

The Duke of *York* being arrived (as I said) at *Bruges*, was highly carressed by all the persons of quality there resident; and his Majesty, who notwithstanding *Cromwells* earnest endeavours, either to dispatch, disable, or make slaves of his loyal Subjects, had nevertheless some true friends in *England*, who were still ready to venture lives and estates for his so just cause) had got together a considerable number of such *English* and *Scotch*, whose Loyalty had banished them from their habitations, & who were ready at all occasions to assist

both his Majesty and themselves for the recovery of his & their just rights & estates; but the continuall advice which *Cromwell* alwaies had from those treacherous persons which he maintained about his Majesty, made all enterprizes tending to the regaining of his Kingdoms, and redeeming of his subjects liberty ineffectuall.

This Army which his Majesty had quartered near the sea side to be ready on all occasions for transport, was afterwards (since there was no apparent hopes that his Majesty might make any successfull use of them) imployed in the service of the King of *Spain*.

For his Majesty of *Spain* had then great need of men in *Flanders*, the *English* Protector having according to Articles agreed upon between him and the *French* King, sent over sixthousand foot for his assistance in his wars against *Flanders*, in consideration of which help the *English* were to have *Dunkirk*, which was agreed on to be beleaguer'd by the joynt-forces of *France* and *England*.

Whilst in the mean time the Protector *Cromwell* is by a parcell of a Parliament, of which Sir *Thomas Withrington* was Speaker, invested with his power, and installed in *Westminster-Hall*, and now he conferrs those dignities which were formerly the Kingly rewards of loyalty, upon his co-partners and followers, and whether in mockery of that Government which he had so violently endeavoured to abollish, or out of perjured intention to settle it in himself, which he swore not to endure in another, he established a Pageant House of Lords; who though then made to rule and domineer over the Nation, yet were formerly most of them persons not fit to be Servants to some mean Mechanicks. This was that Government which he had so Solemnly sworn against; but when men have once forgot their Loyalty to their Sovereign, what vices will they not run into.

But to return again to *Flanders*, The *English* and *French* Armies had according to the articles concluded on betwixt them beleagure'd *Dunkirk* which *Don Iohn* knowing

ing to be a place of great importance, and an inlet into *Flanders* by sea for *English* Forces, used his utmost endeavours to raise the sieges; to which effect he levied what Forces he could, either by his own or his Majesties influence, and having made up a considerable Army himselfe in person, accompanied by the *English* Dukes of *York* & *Glocester*, together with those Forces formerly addicted to his Majesties Service, advanced towards the joynt-force of the *French* and *English* then beleaguering the Town, who understanding by their scouts of his approach, left such Forces in the leagure as might secure them within from a sally, and drew up towards *Don Iohn*, who had encamped near *EVERNES*: the *French* and *English* were (notwithstanding those forces they had left in the trenches) much more numerous then the *Spaniards* both in horse and foot, which made them the more resolved in the Encounter; for though the others came to raise the siege, yet the besiegers were the first Assaulters.

The first brush began with a Forlorn  
hope

hope of *English* Infantry, consisting of above three hundred, who desperately charged upon a party of the *Spanish* Foot (which had advantageously drawn themselves upon a rising ground, and seconded by *Lockett's* Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonell *Fenwick*, and some other additional supplies of *English* Infantry,) routed not only them, but the other bodies of *Spanish* Foot drawn up on the same manner. In this charge Lieutenant Colonell *Fenwick* received his mortall wound, & some other *English* Commanders were slain outright.

The *Spanish* Cavalry seeing their foot so easily put to a rout, began likewise to flee, nor could by any endeavours be perswaded to stand; whereupon the *French* Horse who had all that while stood still, and seen the *English* do execution on the Enemies foot, with a full career pursue their flying Enemies, of whom they found little opposition, but only what was made by the thrice valiant Duke of *York's* Regiment, who for a time made the whole  
*French*

*French Army* to stand, and saved the lives of many of their flying Friends, which else had been sacrificed to the Enemies fury, whilst in the mean time they dedicated their own lives or persons to their safeties.

For after they had made a very noble & gallant resistance, overpowred by numbers, & having no supplies to refresh their wearied bodies, they were forced to yeild to their Enemies numbers, or trust to the swiftness of their horses heels; but very few of them escaped, among which were the Dukes of *York & Gloucester*, though the first was not heard of till three daies after, which made some suspect that he was taken by the *French Forces* but by *Turine* after at a fit opportunity nobly releast.

I may particularly take occasion here to commend the valour of the Duke of *Yorks* own Troop, who indeed bore the brunt of the whole Battell though I cannot deny but they were seconded by some very noble Spirits of the *Spaniards*; but the personall Valour of Mr. *Henry Bendish* son to Sir *Thomas Bendish* Embassadour for the *English Nation*

Nation in *Turky* (who had the ill fortune to be taken prisoner) must not be forgotten.

Let us now change the Scence a little to *England*, where the Protector begins to die the Scaffold in as deep a purple as the Vest given him at his late installment bore ; & that not only with the Bloud of those seculars that were loyal to their soveraign, but having as he thought now secured to himselfe the Government , his hand reaches to the sacred Clergy , nor will he strike at a reed or a shrub amongst them , but imitating the Ancient fable of the *Jubirian* Thunder , strikes at the *Olympus* the *Atlas* , the mainest pillar and support of the Protestant Religion ; for no lesse then the Reverend Doctor *Hewet's* Bloud will now satisfie his insatiate Cruelty ; a man whose vertues and piety as they were beyond expression , so I think was the manner of his death beyond example.

This Doctor and Sir *Henry Slingsby* (who had ever since the forementioned rising in *Yorkshire* lain prisoners in *Hull Castle* ) with many others are accused of a design  
to



to have seized on the Tower of *London*, & the Magazine at *Hull* both in one day, the one by a Divine, the other by a Prisoner; but these persons must have severall others to be their assistants, and that espetically in *London*, who while the Doctor was securing the Tower, must fire the City of *London* in severall places.

Those that make plots may as easily discover them, and with as much ease prevent them; the Protector could do both: but to make some shew of a great deal of fear in the business; Worthy Alderman *Tichburn* then Lord Mayor of *London* is immediately commanded to settle the *Militia*, the Protector telling him (as he easily might) that there was a grand design in hand (probably of his own contriving) against his Government, that the Marquess of *Ormond* had lately been in *England* transacting about it; that the Common Enemy (for so was his Sacred Majesty then styled) lay ready with a potent Army, & ships hired to transport them on the Sea coasts of *England*, and that therefore the  
*Militia*

*Militia* should be settled in confiding hands, meaning such either whose interest or fear must render them faithfull to the *Protector*; shortly after, according to the common course, the persons to be accused are apprehended, the chief of which were Dr. Hewet, Mr. *John Mordant*, brother to the Earle of *Peterborough*, Col. *Ashton*, Capt. *Henry Mallory*, Mr. *Woodcock*, *John Betteley*, *Edmund Stacy*, *Henry Fryer*, *John Sumner*, & *Olliver Allen*; who were all accused to be complices of this grand design.

And because no *English* Law could take away these mens Lives, the ordinary Tyrannicall way of a high Court of Justice must do it; Sir *Henry Stingsby* (who was brought prisoner from *Hull Castle*) was the first who came before them, and is accused for having endeavoured to draw the Governour of that Caste from his Alleigiance (*excellently good!*) to the Protector, and pleading not guilty, yet was, by two Witnesses found ready, convicted, and condemned.

Dr. *Hewet* being come before them (ac-  
Y cording

according to the Example of his Royall Master King *Charles* the first ) refused to plead or to own the jurisdiction of the Court, for which contempt (as they were pleased to interpret it ) he had the same sentence pronounced against him , and was afterwards together with Sir *Henry Slingsby* executed on Tower hill.

Mr. *Mordant* brother to the Earl of *Peterborough* disavowed likewise the Authority of the Court ; but at last being induced to plead , was acquitted , so was Mr. *Woodcock*, *Mallory*, *Fryer*, *Sumner* , & *Allen* were sentenced but reprimed; *Ashton*, *Stacy*, and *Bettely* were hanged, drawn, and quartered, in several places of *London*.

And here we must not forget the magnanimous death of *John Betteley* , who having made a Speech, clearing his Innocency and the justness of his Cause , undauntedly leapt off the Ladder, and died a worthy Sufferer for the Royall Interest.

His sacred Majesty (during these strange Murders and Oppressions of his Subjects in *England*, by a power which had usurpt

the Regality ) is forced to sit still ; his urgent necessities not giving him leave either to revenge their deaths or redeem the surviving , who heavily groaned under the yoke , his only remedy now was his prayers to God ( which he pursues with an earnest devotion ) that he would be pleas'd in his good time to deliver his faithful Subjects from those miseries and burdens they then strugg'd under , and without doubt God hath heard , and will perform his pious desires.

As an introduction to which, it pleased the DIVINE MAJESTY to take out of the world the grandest opposer of his Majesties Right: *OLIVER CROMWELL* , who from a mean beginning had raised himself by force to be the arbitrary Governour of these Nations, who is by the Almighty called to give an account of his actions before the High Tribunall of Heaven , where are neither false witnesses nor interested Judges , and that on the same day on which he had gained two such signall victories over his Majesties forces at

*Dunbar and Worcester, viz. on the third day of September.*

Yet he thought he had certainly secur'd the Government of these three Nations for himself, and nominates his son *Richard* for his Successour, a person, to speak the truth, as not at all endowed with his fathers courage, so not at all inclined to his ambition: one, whom if fame lies not of him, could have willingly been content to have surrendred his Protectorship to the King the lawfull heir, and (by law) undoubted Successour of his royal Father. But those Officers of the Army, whose ambition, (though not in so high a degree,) had so engaged them as Complices to *Oliver Cromwell* in his high late designs against his King and Countrey, had so great a load of guilt upon their consciences, that they could not hear of, much less agree to the admission of his Sacred Majesty.

Nor was it indeed only thus, but some ambitious spirits there were, and particularly Maj. General *Lambert*, whose high-flown thoughts made him fancy Idea's in his

his brain, & forc't him to attempt the enterprising to make himself Commander of these three Nations, as *Oliver* ( by his means ) had done before, which designs of his in the sequell, ruin'd him, and discovered those grand cheats & abuses which that party had put upon the Nation, endeavouring to enslave them to their own arbitrary power, whilst they pretended those strangely mistaken names of Religion and Liberty as hereafter will appear.

And these passages I shall the more fully insert, as tending so much to his Majesties interest here, and to the undeceiving of his good Subjects, who are not blinded with Interest, which the Usurpers had endeavoured to make the most potent men in the Nation, *i. e.* such as had the greatest sums of money, by selling such cheap penniworths of the Kings, Queens, Bishops, Deans and Chapters lands, which together with the purchases of the estates of such loyal subjects to his Majesty, as those in power were pleased to stile Delinquents had near infatuated a good part of the Nation.

But

But to proceed, let us now begin with these distinctions. 'Tis an old Proverb in English, *when thieves fall out, then honest men come by their Goods*; may it now prove as true as old, (which God be praised) we have some reason to hope.

*Oliver Cromwell*, the greater, though most heroick enemy of his King & Country being dead, his son *Richard* is proclaimed Protector, and for some times seemingly complied with; but *Lambert's* ambition which had long lain hid, begins now to appear, and something he whispers into the ears of the Army, which mixt with the great love they had formerly for him, easily creates a dislike of *Richard's* Government, which afterward wrought to such a height, that by a joynt-Conspiracy the Protectorship is disjoyned, and *Richard* deprived of his Government, the taking away of which he as willingly consents to, as they are ready to deprive him of it.

This was the first jarring which this Generation had amongst themselves, which  
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withstanding was composed by the Protector's easie consent, without the shedding of one drop of bloud. But there yet remained to his depoters the greatest task, since they were sufficiently sensible that though they had pull'd down one civil Government, ( they must be inforc't though never so unwillingly ) to set up another.

For they very well knew, that they had already so much gul'd the Nation, that they could not but now be sensible of their many abuses ; yet they fly to their old pretences of Religion and Liberry, and under that pretence ( since they must at least establish the face of civil government, they call a Parliament again ( Resolving to have one like themselves ) that *Junctio* which was formerly desolved by *Oliver*, was *those* that murdered their King, & had for some years enslaved their Native Countrey,

Yet I cannot tell whether it were their inclinations to the General, or *Lambert's* particular perswasions; which called these men even out of the grave of infamy to sit again in the House, and rule as Lords *Par-*  
*amount*

*amount* over these Nations, though I have a great deal of reason to believe it was the latter, since *Lambert's* ambition might rather prompt him to begin with those men, & con over an old lesson, experimentally taught him by his old Master *Oliver*, then hazard the venture of a new one.

But this *Juncto* being thus recall'd to their seats in the House, and the exercise of their former Arbitrary power and authority by their *Quondam* servants of the Army, accept of the invitation; and accordingly met in the Parliament House, whether likewise there assemble severall of those Members which had formerly been seclused & debar'd sitting in 1648. These demand now an equall right with the others, either to Consult or Vote; but as they had been formerly violently thrust out: so they are now forcibly kept out by the Officers of the Army.

This causes another as great distraction of their affairs. For these seclused Members, doe not only dispute their right by Law and Reason ( which could nothing prevail

prevail with sword-men ) but Sir George Booth and some others levy Armes now more truly in defence of Parliamentary priviledges then those raised in 1642.

This small Army raised in *Cheshire*, gave Lambert as fair an oportunity to put in execution his ambitious designes , as possibly could be ; for he being sent with the greatest force of the Army against Sir George, easily overcomes him , takes him prisoner, & retakes those Holds which he had possesst himself of , and so returns victorious.

This fortunate success revived his ancient credit with the Army , and now he begins to practise the ruin of those which he had so lately set up , that he might give full scope to his own Ambition. They found out his designs , but yet not being able to hinder them , are forc'd shortly after to submit to a dissolution.

Thus was this Nation hurried into changes of Government , and Anarchicall confusions, by persons who endeavoured only to promote their own ends & self interest; yet by these strange endeavours of their  
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own, they only lost themselves, for the people, now beginning to discover their juggles, do as much detest them; & though they might for the present force the people to a submission by sword-law; yet could no Government whatsoever, by them establish, be firme or dureable, since it must be settled contrary to the *Genius* of the people.

For even those who were formerly such strong enemies and opposers of Monarchy and Kingly Government, undeceived by those many delusions which they see put upon the Nation (by those who pretended so much to Religion and Liberty, and the settling of a Free State or Commonwealth, whilst they intended only their own ends) are now as much affected as they were formerly disaffected with Monarchicall Government; finding that those who adventure to change a settled Government before they have determined of another in its stead, run into fancies and *Chymera's*, and vainly endeavour to build castles in the air; But to proceed.

This party being thus divided among themselves, there were great hopes, and certainly, greater wishes that that power wherewith they had for some years past, arbitrarily governed the Nation by turns, might at length come to a period, which by the eye of reason was now in greater probability then ever, they by their intestine devisions running headlong to their own ruine.

*Fleetwood, Lambert*, and the rest of the Officers of the Army, have now the sole Authority, and having the longest sword, make their wills a law; yet somewhat to satisfy the people, & to make at least the face of a civill government, they set up a new kind of a thing which they composed of themselves, & some other choice persons, which they call a *Committee of Safety*, and to these they give full Authority over these Nations, without ever asking the peoples consent.

This Government is far more the scorn and derision of the people, then the the other, yet notwithstanding their spirits

are by constant use so subjected to slavery , that their Asinine backs are forced to endure this as well as other more intolerable burthens, they not daring all this while to adventure the regaining of their Liberties , nor indeed do other then by their tongues expresse their hate and anger.

But all this while those divisions of theirs , and the peoples being weary of them , and extreemly for his Majesties interest , it being a rule in Politicks, that the peoples hatred to an usurper, doth alwayes produce their love to a lawfull Prince, nor had they before , till deluded by those Tyrannizers any time to consider the Miseries of their lawfull Sovereign , which now they begin to compassionate , & seeing him the only person whom these men endeavour by all means possible to keep down, hatred to their Tyrannies, makes the people naturally desire his restauration, and him whom before they thought justly expelled , they think it both Justice and Charity to reinstate , as much considering it to be their own as his interest , experience

rience having taught them the difference between the Government by one gentle Prince, and many Rusticks.

Thus far did these mens devisions invest his sacred Majesty with the love of his people, who in the mean time lives retiredly at *Bruges*, expecting either what the good will of his subjects might do for the restoring him to his right, or what the success might be of that Treaty which was then ( the grand action of *Europe* ) in agitation between those two potent Monarchs *France* and *Spain*, from whose joynnt-forces he might expect so great a supply as might have reinstated him in his Dominions by force, a course most of all opposite to his Majesties nature, who even in private things never attempts any thing by violence which he can obtain by intreaty.

Yet great hopes had the Royalists both in *England* and abroad, that this Treaty would produce some good effects; yet it went on very slowly, & after a great deal of tediousness, came to a cessation, and from that to an interview between the two grand



grand Officers of State, *Don Lewis de Haro* Count *de Olivares*, chief favourite to his Catholick Majesty, and Cardinall *Mazarine*, chief Minister of State to the most Christian King; these being met upon the Frontier, his sacred Majesty of great Britain, was invited thither by *Don Lewis de Haro*.

His Majesty received this invitation at *Diepe* in *Normandy*, whither he had privately withdrawen himself (as likewise had his Brother the Duke of *York* to *Calice*) that they might be in a readiness to have come over into *England*, upon any fit opportunity, they having received many invitations from their friends here, about that time when *Sir George Booth* was up in *Cheshire*, and all *England* in a manner gaping for him. But *Sir George* being (as I said before) overcome, his Majesties and the whole Nations hopes fail'd, and the Pharnarick power still continued Paramount.

His Majesty therefore from *Diepe* begins his journey towards the frontiers of *Spain*, which journey he intended to make privately

privately, and being first come to *Roan*, he was there nobly entertained and feasted by Mr. *Scot*, an *English* Merchant, who accompanied his Majesty to the Protestant Church, about three miles from the City, where with a great deal of Devotion and Attention he heard a Sermon.

From *Roan*, his Majesty accompanied with the Marquess of *Ormond*, the Lord *Digby*, Mr. *Owen* took Post, steering their course directly for *Bayonne* (neer which the two great officers of state were to meet) not staying in any place, but endeavouring by all means possible to travel undiscovered as was before resolv'd.

Being come near to the end of his Journey, advice was sent to *Don Lewis de Haro* of his Majesties approach, who immediately (accompanied with a gallant Train) came forth to meet him, and being come near unto him, *Don Lewis* alighted from his horse, and notwithstanding the place where they met was very durty, kneeling down he clapt his hands about his Majesties Knees, and with a great deal of humility

military kissed them.

His Majesty was from hence conducted with becoming Ceremonies, to the place appointed for his accomodation (*Don Lewis* riding all the way bareheaded by him) where he was entertained with all possible splendor and gallantry.

Many overtures and propositions there passed, between his Majesty and *Don Lewis de Haro* touching what aid and assistance might be granted him by his Catholick Majesty, for the regaining of his rights & Kingdoms; his Majesty endeavouring by all means possible, to promote and further the present Treaty between *France & Spain*, and to bring it to a happy conclusion, by the Marriage of the King of *France* to the *Spanish* Infanta, it tending so much to his interest, that 'till the conclusion of it, nothing could be effected by those Princes which might any way promote his right or possession.

To all his desires or propositions, the noble Count *de Olivares* returned pleasing answers, & carried himself with so much respect

respect towards him, that he could not have been more submissive to the Catholick Majesty of *Spain* his Master.

His Majesty having some time been treated here, returned back again through *France*, being accompanied some part of his way by *Don Lewis*, and repassing the rest privately by Post as he had formerly passed it, till he came to *Charinton* and *Paris*, where his Mother was, with whom he staid some few dayes ( though he was not now Courted and carressed by the *French Nobility* as formerly ) and then returned to his residence at *Brussels*.

His Majesties private departure from *Brussels*, & his privacy during his whole journey, made it certainly believed, that both he & his Brother the Duke of *York*, who lay at *Callis*, were come over into *England*, & that they lay hear concealed, expecting according to the event of things, either to discover or secure themselves: nay so certain was the belief even those in power had of it, ( who had not so good intelligence as *Oliver Cromwell* ) that many persons were

aprehended for them, and particularly one Mr. *Colt* was taken for the Duke of *York*, and kept in prison for him, till such time as certain news arrived in *England* of the Dukes return to *Brussels*. Several other persons likewise suffered imprisonment for being suppos'd to be like either his Majesty or his Brother.

His Majesty living retired at *Brussels*, the continuances of the differences in *England* among those who had usurped his power, doth still highly promote his interest. For though *Lambert* had routed Sir *George Booth*, and by it declared absolutely against a Free Parliament (for which, as the undoubted right of the Nation, Sir *George Booth* and his party took up Arms) yet the people could not be content, but now once put in the way, they began violently to hanker after their long lost Liberty.

Nor could the turning out of the *Rump* (for so had the people out of disgrace termed the *Juncto* which then sat) whom they inveterately hated, any whit now sweeten them in their slavery, but they continually

murmured out & agravated their oppressions one to another, & though they came to no violence, yet 'tis suspected it was more out of the hope they had that Generall *George Monck*, ( who was then marching with his Army out of *Scotland* ) should assert their Liberties, ( which somewhat allayed the popular fury ) then out of any fear or Cowardise.

But in the mean time their expectations seem'd utterly to fail them, for the *Rump* had by their industry so inveigled most of the Army from *Lambert*, that by their help they return and take their seats in the House and dissolve his *Committee of Safety*, commanded the Souldiers of his Army to repair to their appointed Quarters, & Order Generall *Monck* to bring up his Army to *London*, in all which they are punctually obeyed; *Lambert's* Souldiers deserting him, and Generall *Monck* according to their orders, marching up his Army quite through *England*.

Yet the Nation had so great hopes of the Noble General, that in all his pas-

passage through *England*, he is courted with Addressees from the Gentry of every County, remonstrating the distractions they long had, and were still like to lye under, and intreating that he would be (as they hoped hee'd prove) the Deliverer and savor of his Countrey; that to settle them in some way of Government, a Parliament might be called by the Free Votes of the people, that they might no longer be Govern'd by such Wolves, as only made a Prey of them, nor their Governours be subjected to the awe & force of an Exorbitant Army. To all these desires he returned answers, promising such things as might be for the good of the Nation.

But being come to *London* (where he was received with a great deal of joy) he put the people almost quite out of hopes of him, nay rather into a fear, that in stead of proving their deliverer, he would be the means to enslave them; for by the cōmandment of the *Rump*, he enters the City with his whole Army, imprisons many of their *Common Council*, digs up their Posts, and  
breakes



breakes down their Gates , whilst the stupiſt'd Citizens , having now fear added to their ſlavery , durſt hardly murmur at it, but with ſighs & nods bid *adieu* to their Liberty.

Yet not withſtanding this violence , the Noble Generall revives their hopes , & retiring himſelf into the City, reſuſing to be ſubject to the *Junſto's* command , ſhortly after he admitts thoſe Members of the Houſe of *Commons* which were in 1648. forceably excluded by the Army, (for having given their Votes that the Kings Conceſſions at the Iſle of *Wight* Treaty , were ſufficient grounds for a Peace and ſettlement:) who having taken their places in the Houſe, we had now got a ſtep towards our ancient happineſs , one of the three Eſtates of the Kingdom *viz.* the Houſe of *Commons* , being permitted to ſit freely , a thing not known to us in twelve precedent yeares. God of heaven of his mercy to theſe Nations , grant , that the other two may, in his due time , be admitted to the diſcharge of their power and truſt, that theſe Nations

Nations once so famous under that Government, may no longer continue to be the scorn and derision of foraign Countries.

And great hopes there is now that these Kingdomes may again return to be happy, since disloyalty (the first cause of their miseries and distractions) begins, blessed be God, every day to be depressed, and loyalty to flourish, many of those who formerly with a zealous fury broak their oath of Allegiance to their King, wishing now that they had a King to shew allegiance to; & perceiving that al innovations of Government are not what some would have them seem to be, viz. ways to liberty & freedom, but meer baits of ambitious self-minded men, to hook in the people to slavery.

But to return to his Majesty in *Flanders*; of whose jtenary life we have already given you a particular account: it will not be impertinent to say somewhat of his sedentary & retired Living, that by his *Economy* we may judge of his Monarchy, and  
of

of the Government of those few subjects in his Family, of that of his three Kingdoms.

His Majesty hath spent most of his time, wherein he hath been out of his Dominions in *Flanders* under the protection of the Catholick King of *Spain*; nor had he ever any where else so settled a Court and Habitation, as here, where his chief Attendants are the Lord Chancellour *Hide*, the Marquess of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Digby*, and many other Nobles and Gentlemen, whose loyalty to his sacred Majesty & his Royall Father hath made exiles to their Country; a particular number of which he makes use of for his Councill, doing nothing without serious & mature advice; and yet being of so sagacious a judgement, that whatever he sayes is seldome contradicted by the most Judicious of his Councillours, not out of fear or flattery, but out of a reall assent to, and concurrence with his judgement.

And indeed those great opportunities  
which

which he hath had , by his so long being abroad , of diving into the great Councils of Forraign Princes and States , must necessarily make him a person of a very perspicuous understanding, endow him with all those qualities which may deservedly attain the name of Great , and render him as well an able Statist, as a King ; he having during his expulsion travelled through & lived in the Countries of three the most potent Princes in Christendome, viz. the Emperour's of *Germany*, and the Kings of *Spain* and *France* ; and so to the Germain resolution added the Spaniards prudence , and the Frenchmans expedition.

To these extraordinary helps which never a Prince in Christendome can boast of, we may yet add, those more then ordinary gifts, wherewith nature hath been pleased to endow him , which being so extreemly improved, we can hardly now discern; but that it may be known what they were, take the character of an Honourable Lord upon his death Bed , who speaking of him when about fiteen or sixteen Years of Age, hath

hath these words : Truly I ne<sup>er</sup> saw greater hopes of Vertue in any young Person then in him: Great Judgement, great understanding, strong apprehension, much of honour in his nature, & a very perfect Englishman in his inclinations. So that both nature & industry have seem'd to use their utmost endeavours to make him a perfect Prince, his very affliction turning in this to his benefit, and making him in knowledge and sufferings ( the Refiner of knowledge ) unparalleld. Some forreign Princes as well envying, as pitying his expulsion.

This perfect knowledge of his he hath indeed had but small occasion to practise, except a little in *Scotland* : where, I think, he demonstrated himself a person so prudent and careful in his affairs, that is beyond my Pen's expression.

His Subjects good was his only care; nor did he ever act any thing but what might tend more to theirs then his own interest; still consulting whether it might benefit them, not himself.

His Letter to Col. Mackworth Governour

nour of *Shrewsbury* sufficiently demonstrates his affection to his very Enemies; he would win, not Conquer the Hearts of those who though they have broke their Allegiance to him, yet he would esteem still his subjects.

He would not conquer with bloud, lest he should be thought a Tyrant. He endeavours by fair means to attain the love of his Subjects, that (what ever his very enemies think of him) he may approve himself to be a just Prince.

And did Fortune give him power, yet would he rather attempt Curtesie then Force. He knows that whilst he kills a Subject he weakens his Kingdom. Rebels themselves may be found usefull; and though justice cannot, yet his Majesties Clemency will admit their pardon; but if they resist to the utmost, their bloud is on their own heads, *what man is not willing to destroy him, who he knows would be his murderer.*

This is his justice and his Clemency mixt together; he would not Kill, where

he might with safety save. Nor does his unspotted innocency raise fancies or fears in him. As he is guilty of nothing, so there's nothing he fears. Whilst he endeavours to be true to his subjects, those endeavours force a belief in him, that his subjects will be true to him.

His very nature inclines him to a compassion. He pities those that will not pity themselves; and whilst they are conspiring his destruction, his prayers procure their safety. Nor can the utmost of their injuries provoke him to a retaliation. He hath learned not only of God, but of the King his father, to forgive his Enemies.

Nor is it his desire to obtain his Kingdoms that makes him willing to forgive his Enemies, but his desire to forgive his Enemies that makes him willing to obtain his Kingdoms: he counts the possession of his Royalties but as a transitory dignity, the pardon of his Enemies a Divine and lasting one.

Neither is his piety less than his Justice,  
b 3 they



they are both in the Superlative degree, he hates wickedness, not because the world should see him glory (that would make him an *Hipocrite*) but because God abhors it; 'tis Love not Fear makes him Religious, he Fears God, only because he Loves him.

He hates not the Vicious, but abominates their Vices, his hatred extends not to persons, but to things; He dislikes not the Swearer, 'tis the Oaths he abhors, he hates not the Drunkard but his Drunkenesse.

Yet does his mercy extend beyond their sins, as he is a King so he is a God, he is gracious to pardon, as well as just to punish; nor can a remission or reformation but over take his remission.

His constant service of God excites others to live by his example, he sleeps not without invoking the blessing of the Almighty, nor does his Eyes open without a returned thanks, he knows 'tis God alone which can restore & protect him; nor can the wickednesse of Man prevail against him,

Nor

Nor does his publick devotion shew him lesse Zealous then his private, the one demonstrates him full of Zeal, the other void of Hypocrisie; he would have others holly as well as himself; he knows that saying concerns him, being a King, above all private Men, *Non nobis solis nati sumus.*

Private persons are not alone born for themselves, much lesse Kings, the publick concern is their duty: 'tis not enough for the Master of the house that he be Godly whilst his family is wicked. There must be Precept as well as Example: and if need be, correction as well as instruction.

This makes his Majesty deservedly famous; he counts it as great a fault to suffer a sin in another whilst he hath power to correct it, as to commit it himself, he knows that what crime soever a Magistrate suffers willingly to be committed, he brings upon his own head.

He is therefore above all things careful not to father vice, least he should be accounted vicious: he detests that in another which did he commit, he knows he might  
justly

justly detest himselfe for ; and endeavours by Example to reform that in others which he knows were it in him, would seem odious to him.

He abhors vice, as well because it is so, as because God abhors it: His nature inclines him to vertue, and as he cannot admit its contrary in himself, so he cannot endure it in another.

His constancy in Religion is no lesse conspicuous then his piety. His discerning judgement knows what is truth, and that truth is followed by his settled will ; Yet he hates not the Popish Religion, but their Idolatry ; he abhors not them, but their false worship ; He loves all that knows *Christ* at all, but wishes that they all might know him more.

His steadfastnesse in Religion proceeds not from self-interest; he sticks not so much to be true to Protestants, because he knows the *English* to be addicted to that Religion; nor because he thinks it for his benefit; & because he imagines that it would prove very difficill to obtain his Crown & leave it.

it. But because he knows it to be true.

He knows the Prince is born for the people, as well as the people for the Prince. He knows their interests to be interwoven. He knows that without them he cannot stand; yet will he sooner loose them then relinquish verity.

He is the perfect pattern of Piety, but more of Patience, his Afflictions have not made him repine, he knows God to be just: he believes that as God restored *Job* twofold, so will he likewise restore him his Kingdomes.

Yet he thinkes it just in God to suffer them to be detained from him.

He Laments more his Subjects slavery then his own Exile, he grieves that they have been so long blind, yet rejoyces for their sakes that they have now a Glimmering; he constantly prays for the restoring of their sight, not so much because they should restore his, as their own Rights and Priviledges.

He is inwardly troubled and perplexed at the many Schisms, Sects, & Heresies that  
are

are raised in the Church of *England*, he is sorry that their rise is from some mens envy towards him; he pitties, and his pitty produces his prayers for them. He is willing that though they will not obey him, yet that they may serve God.

He was never heard to curse his Enemies, many times to pray for them, and desire God to forgive even his Fathers Murtherers; his good will surpasses their cruelty: And whilst they are conspiring his Destruction, he is praying for their Salvation.

He is a perfect Enemy to all Debauchedness, he is sorry those who pretend themselves his friends in *England* are so great a scandal to him: He wishes that they would so carry themselves, that he might adventure to own them as Friends; for he understands not the good will of those who drink his Health for the liquors sake, nor wishes for their helpe who over their Sack only swear they will fight for him. He is noe greater a hater of vice then a cherisher of vertuous Actions, he loves them

in his very Enemies, & often grieves when he findes occasion to think that many of them will rise up in judgement against his most pretended Friends,

He is most exactly just in all his Commands and faithfull in performance of all his promises Take the Character given him by the dying Marquess of Montrose. *For his Majesty now living (saith he) Never people I believe may be more happy in a King, his Commands to me were most just, in nothing that he promiseth will he fail: He deals justly with all men &c.* So punctuall is he, that when a word is once gon out of his Mouth he will rather suffer by it then break it.

To conclude, he is the pattern of Patience and Piety, the most Righteous and Justest of Kings. The most knowing & experienced of Princes. The Holiest and the best of Men. The severest punisher of Vice. The strictest rewarder of Virtue. The constantest preserver of Religion. And the truest lover of his Subjects.

This is a short Character of his illustrious Majesty, which I feare those that know  
c him

him will rather think to come short of then reach his due praise, so sweetly vertuous is he in all his Carriages, so affable in his discourse, so void of passion & anger, that he was never yet heard or seen in Choller, the utmost extent of any passion that ever was discerned in him, being towards one of his Meniall Servants, who justifying himselfe in what he had done amisse, his Majesty with some motion told him that he was an insolent fellow.

Yet this is that Prince whose vertues we have given leave to Forraign Nations to admire, whilst we our selves have rested as well ignorant of his deserts, as destitute of our own Liberty, whilst either infatuated or blinded by those who have Tyrannically usurp'd Governments over us, we have been contented to sit still & see him Expulsed and exil'd from his due Rights & Royalties, and our selves from our Freedom & Priviledges.

Nor hath God alone been merciful to us in endowing his sacred Majesty with such Heroick Vertues, but he hath given us a  
stock



stock of Noble Princes, who seem to Emulate Virtues in one another, and growe up like Royal Oaks to maintain the Honour and Glory of this Nation, but are yet and have a long time been the disgrace of it, all the Nations in *Europe* laughing at the *English* folly, who slight that happinesse which they might enjoy.

As for the illustrious Duke of *York* his Fame is spread so far over the World, that my selfe have heard the very *Turks* commend and applaud his Vallour which was so esteemed among the *French*, that before he arrived at twenty one years of Age, he was by that King thought worthy the Command of *Liu*. General of his Armies, which he managed with such care & prudence, that seldom any affairs he took in hand, produced not its desired successe; & since, his being in requital of his services, complemented out of that Kingdome of *France*, though he hath not had such eminent commands confer'd on him by the *Spaniard*, yet have they alwaies thought him worthy the highest employement and respect.

As for the Duke of *Glocester*, he is esteemed by most to be fitter for a Councellour then a Souldier: His Carriage is grave, & somewhat severe; of a Sagace Genious and understanding, and very much prying into State Affairs, which have made most judge him the fitter for a Councill board.

These three Princes, are like three *Diamonds* or *Pearls* which we have ignorantly cast away, & not come to know the worth of them till we come to want them, Their vertues having made them resplendent throughout all the World, and rendred them, if we justly consider it, the only means whereby we can attain to happiness; for what Nation can be more blessed then that which hath for her Prince a just King to Govern, a Valiant Duke to Defend, and a Wise Councellour to Advise.

*May the God of Heaven then open our Eyes  
and let us at length see our Errour, and hearti-*

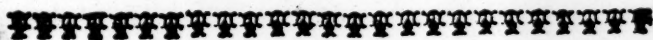
ly repent of it, by calling our Native Sovereign  
to the possession of his due Rights, Which the  
Divine Majesty (I hope) will be Graciously plea-  
sed to Grant.

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Thus far the History.



March 1660.



POST-SCRIPT



## POST-SCRIPT

\*\*\*\*\* Hen this admirable miraculous  
\* W \* foregoing History came first  
\* \* \* out, ( which contayns so great  
\*\*\*\*\* wonders , that noe former age  
can parrallel , or future believe, ) it may  
well without derogation from the author,  
be owned by a person of Quality: for so  
questionlesse he was, and a person of Ho-  
nour , and loyall confidence ; that at that  
time , before the dawning of our day of  
Liberty, or the arising of our long set Sun,  
which by its appearing inlightens , com-  
forts, and refreshes these our Kingdoms, of  
*England, Scotland, & Ireland*, CHARLES the  
second defender of the faith &c. I say, much  
may well be attributed to his confident  
bouldnes , at that time to publish it , when  
to speak truth, reason, or loyaltie , was  
accounted, Error, Treason, & dangerous.  
And although it be not so full as it might  
be

be, either for manner or Matter, in setting forth the worthy & deserved Praise of our most gracious Sovereign, ( whose perfections whosoever shall undertake to describe, must needs fall short ) and of his Miraculous escape ; but that it may well be said of it, as the Queen of *Sheba* said of the Wisdom of *Solomon* &c. behold the halfe was not tould of what she found, ( though reported by fame, which seldome looses in the Progresse ) nor of the wonderfull signall mercy to his Kingdoms and Subjects thereby, as is well exprest in the 107. psalme and the 43. *Who so is wise may understand these things, and such shall understand the loving kindnes of the Lord.*

And truly I think never people had more cause, chearfully & thankfully to acknowledge the goodnes of God herein : and expresse it by their duty and obedience. The wisemans advice its wisdom to take. *Pro. 24. & 21. 22. My Son fear God and the King, & meddle not with them that be seditious, and desirous of change &c.*

Have we not been ( ever since the sad Sacrifice

crifice of his sacred Majesty (who God has made a Saint, and they a Martyr) of most precious and blessed memory, who was Murthered by the pretended sword of Justice: & to say noe more of it, was as horrid a crime as ever the Sun beheld) oppressed by high Courts of Injustice, and other arbitrary impositions, more then ever was done by coular of authority, in the raings of all the *KINGS* since the *CONQUEST*.

Did not the want of our King bring on us? Vsurpation, Tirrany, Enmity, Animositie, Poverty, and all Misery? All which will be remov'd, and to our comfort (if our sinnes and disobedience hinders not) we shall assuredly enjoy a Settlement of Religion, Law, Liberty, Property, Peace, Penty, Honour and Safety.

Has not his singular wisdom discovered and directed a way, not only for discharging those large arrears (which before daily increased on us) to the Army and otherwise, which is in a short time done, but also for their disbanding in *England*; to free us thereby for the future, from those  
in-

insupportable burthens.

Read but his gracious General pardon, (before which who could justly say he was free) and see his unparaleld clemency: who to us *Ariseb like the Sun of Righteousnes with healing under his wings Mal. 4. 2.* And if ingratitude be the worst of crimes (as I think was never yet questioned) how inexcusable then in the Eyes of all the world shall such be, that after so great favour, shall either in thought, word, or deed, think, speak, or act any thing against him.

Read but his Declaration concerning Ecclesiasticall affaires; with what Religious care & caution has he fram'd it: to the Satisfaction of all interests that pretend to Religion, Reason or Civility. Provided they quietly conforme to the Establishd Laws, and make not Religion (as some formerly did) a Match to give fire to Rebellion.

Who knows not that in our unfortunate interregnum, the design of our hardharted task-masters was to blind (if not put out) the Eyes of the three Kingdoms, by endeavouring to pilladge those formerly famous Seminaries  
d of



of Learning , and discourage it for the future ; as if they had been of that judgement , that ignorance was the Mother of devotion.

All which and much more that might justly be vrged on this subject , must needs make us acknowledge, as it is in the forementioned psalme and that often as it is there , to *Praise the Lord for his goodnes in restoring him, & declare the wonders that he hath done for him, and the people of these Kingdones.*

I am sure we may justly say *If God had not been on our side, we had been destroyed, but to him for ever be the praise ; The snare is broken and we are delivered.*

Yet there are a sort of people in the world, and too many in this Kingdome ( the more is the pittie ) God grant there be none in *England* ; the Epistle of Saint *Jude* , espetially the 10. & 16. describs them: that through ignorance, misinformation , prejudice, or advantage , are redy to slander the foot-steps of the LORDS anoynted : who live in this dark corner of *Ireland* , and are ignorant of the worth of that happines that is in the King , & to themselves thereby. I thought it therefore a necessary duty,

duty, having this History by me, to get it re-  
printed here for information: being as far  
from endeavouring to gain applause thereby,  
as I am incapable of attaining it by any thing  
from my selfe: only that I may manifest the  
goodnes of God, which is the duty of every  
Christian: and my loyalty, which is the du-  
ty of every Subject & good Christian, (though  
for these twelve years I have been a sufferer  
for it.) and informe those that yet know not so  
much as this manifests.

To the Lord the only ruler of Princes, whose  
right hand and mighty arm hath done it, for  
ever be the praise: Yea let all the People praise  
thee O Lord for thy goodnes to us, in restoring  
the light of our Eyes, the breath of our Nos-  
trills, the Kings most excellent Majesty! the  
restoring of whom unto his Throne, must  
needs be acknowledged the hand of God, and  
if enough to convince an *Athist*: & may evince  
to the World the validity of vnited and devout  
prayers, such as are injoynd with good autho-  
rity by the Church of *England*, and are the ve-  
ry Marrow of the Scriptures: and where are  
not Scripture, are vncontroulably agreeing:

composed by those that lay'd down their lives  
to maintaine ; and bequeathed as the best Le-  
gacy to their Wives and Children. And in a  
word, are those prayers for which our blessed  
Saviour will not refuse to be an intercessour :  
and which have so miraculously restored the  
defendor of our Faith to his Throne : which  
noe rational man alive but may well conclude,  
being ( as I am confident they were ) put up  
to the Throne of Grace, with pure & upright  
hearts, by the dutifull and obedient Sons of  
the Church.

And therefore let all (but espetically such,)  
never forget to return due praise for his mer-  
cyes to us and to our King, and as it is there di-  
rected, yeild praise and thanksgiving for our  
deliverance from those great and apparent  
dangers, where with we were incompassed :  
and to acknowledge it his goodnes that we  
were not delivered over as a prey unto them :  
beseeching still his goodnes and mercy to us,  
that all the World may know, that he is our  
Saviour and mighty Redeemer. And that all  
those that do confess his holy Name, may a-  
gree in the truth of his holy word, and live in  
vnity

unity and Godly love, & that under our Law-  
full King and governour we may be Godly and  
quietly governed.

And for our most gracious Sovereign also  
let us pray, *That he knowing whose Minister he is,*  
*may aboue all things seeke his honour & glory: that*  
*so we his Subjects duly considering whose authori-*  
*ty he hath, may honour and humbly obey him accord-*  
*ing to Gods blessed word and Ordinance.*

And as it is directed by that Divine, Or-  
thodox, ancient and best lyturgie, of the  
Church of England, *To keep and strengthen in*  
*the true worship of thee, in righteousness and holynes*  
*of life, thy Seruant CHARLES. our most gracious*  
*KING and Governour.*

*That it may please thee O Lord to rule his heart in*  
*thy faith feare and love, that he may ever more have*  
*affiance in thee, and ever seek thy honour and glory.*

*That he may alway incline to thy will and walk in*  
*thy way, Endue him plentifully with heauenly gifts,*  
*grant him in health & wealth long to liue: streng-*  
*then him that he may Vanquish and over come all*  
*his Enemies; and finally after this life: he may*  
*attain everlasting Ioy and felicity, through Iesus*  
*Christ our Lord.*

(Vntill)

As

As for those who so barbarously acted in that horrid crime the Murder of his Sacred Majesty of blessed memory: they have had (at least some of them) the reward of Regicides. So let his Enemies perish O Lord, and all that rise up against him: But on his own head let his Crown flourish: Let his dayes be many and prosperous, and let all, (but especially those that are truly loyal,) finde the Comfort of it.

The unexpressable joy of all his Subjects, felt and declared at his return requires a Volume, and at this place cannot be inform'd: it being indeed beyond expression, God inclining the hearts of all his people, as some times all the Subjects of King *David*, the people of *Juda*, to bring home their King: 2. Sam. 19. 14. Take one for all, a Copie of Verses presented with his own hand at his return to his Government: By that most Honorable and Heroick person, and renowned Champion of the *English* interest in *Ireland* ( which Maugre all opposition, will eternize his fame to all posterity)

posterity ) The Lord President of *Munster*, all  
that know him, know his excellency that way:  
its enough to say they are his; and they follow  
as well worthy to conclude the History of his  
most excellent Majesty, whom God preserve.

*H: F:*

*Cork 22. No: 1660.*

Printed by J. Smith, at the Sign of the Crown, in the Strand.



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TO



TO THE  
K I N G

UPON HIS  
M A J E S T I E S

*Happy Return.*

\*\*\* S the Great World at first in *Chaos* lay;  
\*\*\* A Then darknes yeilded to triumphat day;  
\*\*\* And all that wild and undigested *Mass*  
Did into Forme, and to perfection pass:  
So, in our lesser World, Confusions were  
Many, and vast, as now our Blessings are.  
Our past, and present State fully expresse  
All we could bear, and all we would possess.

Wonder not that your forces could not bring  
You to Your Crowns, nor us unto our King:  
Fate made therein this high design appear,  
Your Sword shall rule abroad, Your Virtues  
The lesser Conquest was to you deny'd (here.  
That by the greater it might be supply'd.  
Nor think it strang that som so long have strove  
Wich



With that which they did most admire & love ;  
Since all against their dissolution pray ,  
Although to Heav'n there is no other way .  
Like to *Bethesda* Pool , our Common-wealth  
Till it was troubled , could not give us health :  
You as the Angel , did our Waters stir ,  
And from that motion we derive our Cure .  
The highest Blessing God to You does yield ,  
He , His Anoynted , as His Church does build :  
Nothing of noise did to perfection bring  
The greatest Temple , and the greatest King .  
Alike he builded both , that all might see ,  
Your Kingdom , like his Church , shall endless be .  
As when Great Nature's Fabrick was begun ,  
Expanded Light made day , and not the Sun ;  
But Light diffus'd was to perfection grown ,  
When from one Planet , it contracted shone :  
So when our Government was form'd to last  
But till the race of a few dayes was past ,  
With Ruling Gifts God many did endue ,  
But , now 'tis fix'd , all those are plac'd in you .  
Your Banishment , which your Foes did designe  
To cloud your virtues , made them brighter shine .  
Thus Persecution did but more dispencc  
Throughout the World the Gospels influence .  
Princes ,

Princes , who saw Your Sufferings, did esteem  
'Twas greater to subdue those griefs then them.  
And in that conquest found how they should fare,  
If they provok'd your Justice to a War.  
By Your Return , and by Your Foes pursuit ,  
*Europe* Your Blossomes had, but we your Fruit.  
Our Senate does not for Conditions sue ;  
We know we have our *All*, in having You:  
Your Mercy with our Crimes does nobly strive;  
And, e're we aske forgiveness you forgive.  
Your Subjects thus doubly you now subdue,  
Both in the Manner, and the Action too.  
Your great Reception in our neighb'ring State,  
Proves that on you depends their Countries fate:  
Your dreadful Fleet does on their Coast appear,  
Yet to their Joy , they yeild up all their Fear ;  
For knowing you, they know Heav'n has resign'd  
A Power unbounded to a bounded Mind.  
Triumphant Navy ! Formerly your Freight  
Consisting but of Lawrel , or of Plate ;  
But to your happy Country now you bring  
More then both Indies in our Matchless King.  
Twice has the World been trusted in a Barque,  
The New, the *Charles* contain'd, the Old, the Ark,  
This bore but those who did the World re-build,  
But

But that bore you, to whom that world must yeild.  
The spacious sea, which does the Earth embrace,  
Ne're held so many Princes in one place ;  
Princes whose Father still the Trident bore,  
As shall their Sons, till time shall be no more.  
Now whilst the Sea, your greatest subject, moves  
Slowly , as loath to part with what he loves ;  
And whilst your Sails the calmed Air subdue ;  
(For wch he hides the winds, & thanks them too)  
I might present you with a Prospect here,  
Of that vast Empire to which now you Steere.  
But on that Tneam my Numbers cannot stay ;  
Copies to their Originals give way ,  
For now your Fleet sees land, which many a peal  
Of thund'ring Cannon to the Shore does tell :  
And now your ravish'd Subjects see your Fleet,  
Wch they with shouts, louder then Cannongreet ;  
Two Suns at once our sights now eternain ;  
One shines from Heav'n the other from the Main.  
All Loyal Eyes are fixed on the East ,  
For you more welcome then that daily Guest ;  
While on the shore your longing Subjects stand,  
Subjects, as numberless as is the Sand ;  
Subjects sufficient, if but led by You ,  
All Countreies you have liv'd in , to subdue.

In Raptures now we our great Gen'ral see,  
Move faster to meet you then Victorie:  
He at your Feet himself does prostrate now,  
To whom vast Fleets and Armies us'd to bow;  
And greater Satisfaction does expresse  
In This Submission, then in That Success.  
Your Royal Armes inwreath him, wch he more  
Does prize, then al those lawrel wreaths he wore.  
Now all for his Victorious Troops make room,  
Which never but by Joy. were overcome:  
Loud shouts to heav'n for your Return they send,  
Whilst low as earth their dreaded Ensigns bend;  
He leads them still to what exalts their Name;  
Now to their Duty, as before to Fame.  
Their Mis-led Courage, in a fatal Time,  
Had been too long their Glory and their Crime.  
Now they are truly Great, now truly live,  
Since this you Praise, and that you do forgive.  
Those, who so long could keep you from your due  
What can resist, now they are led by you?  
Your Great Example will their Model prove;  
Perswading soon, and willingly, as love.  
Such Fleets, & Armies, & our *Charles* their head,  
Are things which all the Universe may dread.  
And now you move, and now in all the Waies,

Thick

Thick clouds of Subjects, clouds of dust do raise;  
Through which the worlds chief city now you see,  
Great in Extent, greater in Loyalty; (line,  
Their Cannon speak, their Streets the Souldiers  
And brightest beauties frō their windows shine:  
Your Subjects Earthly *Jove* you now are grown;  
Thunder & light'ning guard you to your Throne.  
Thus you triumph, whilst at your Palace Gates  
The highest earthly Senate for you waits:  
One Roof contains those which our laws do make,  
And him from whō the world their laws must take:  
Their knees doe homage, whilst their Tongues  
Tney in their duty find their happness, (confess,  
And Fame aloud, through ev'ry Region, sings,  
They are the best of Subjects you of Kings.  
The Royal throne so fully you Adorn,  
That now all praise what some before did scorn:  
A throne, which now the envious do confess,  
Our Safety urg'd your Merit to Possess.  
Where *Cesar* could no further Glory win,  
There is the *Scene*, where yours does but begin;  
By which indulgent Fate would have it known,  
Though his Success had end, Yours should have  
Or else that nothing worthy was of you, (none?  
But what Great *Julius* wanted Pow'r to do.

Our

Our fierce divisions made our Courage known;  
But more your wisdom shines, that makes us one;  
Which has so fram'd your Empire to endure,  
We need but prudent Foes to be secure.  
You might possess by Armies, and by Fleets,  
All where the Sun doth rise, or where he sets;  
But you a nobler Conquest have design'd,  
The placing Limits to your Greater Mind:  
And may those highest titles never cease,  
*A King of Greatest Pow'r, and Greatest Peace.*  
Of sufferings past let us no more Complain,  
Since you by them with greater Glory Raign;  
Till that we saw; your Subjects could not guess,  
Heav'n had for them a Blessing above Peace.  
Nor can we tell which most in you to own,  
Either your Virtues or Extraction;  
Though never any was so Great and Good;  
It springs from Martyrs, as from Royall Bloud:  
But your own Glories do so brightly shine,  
You need not borrow Luster from your Line.  
Yet we must say, since justly but your due,  
Though you our glories raise, they raise not you  
Like to the Royal Bird that climbs the Skies,  
You lesser seem still as you higher rise.  
Your self you limit to a triple Throne,

And

And all mens Wonder are, except your own.  
Now Sacred Peace & Justice cease to mourn,  
And both in you again to us return.  
Religion now shall flourish with your Crown,  
And the fierce sword yeild to the peaceful gown.  
The Muses too so highly You esteem,  
That you are both their Influence & their Theam

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*F I N I S.*

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